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ABSTRACT

The problem of the potential school dropout and the implications for the school counselor provide the major foci of this book. Several conclusions reached by the 11 contributors of this volume are: (1) the school dropout problem is multifaceted, demanding attention from schools and community; (2) pupil personnel have an important responsibility and contribution to make; (3) the counselor is not the only or primary agent in combating early school leaving; (4) opinion is divided concerning the effectiveness of different programs for potential dropouts; (5) the school should try to identify the potential dropout as early as possible; (6) counselors should note the crucial role of dropouts' parents and home environment; (7) unintentional and harmful attitudes and practices may exacerbate the dropout problem; (8) each community needs to reexamine its current youth programs, especially those for young people not planning to enroll in college. (Author/NMF)

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THE SCHOOL DROPOUT

GUIDANCE AND THE SCHOOL DROPOUT

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AND

THE SCHOOL DROPOUT

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FOREWORD

During the past few years, specially so since the enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, guidance and counseling services have assumed a greater, more important, and more decisive role in educational programs. Almost without exception, school dropout reports and surveys reaching us from states and communities single out guidance and counseling as the *prime* consideration. The consensus is that a lack of guidance and counseling has contributed to the severity of the problem and that more and better services of this kind will improve school holding power. It is doubtful whether the school counselor can be the multipurpose cure for the inadequacies besetting our schools. But it is undeniable that he can be more effective in helping youth succeed in school and remain to graduate.

Evolving as it did from a joint effort of the National Education Association's special Project on School Dropouts and the American Personnel and Guidance Association, the book has as its major focus the problem of the potential school dropout and the implications for the school counselor. It is an outgrowth of an invitational symposium held at West Point, New York, in May 1963. Outstanding authorities were invited to prepare papers on specific topics relating to guidance and the school dropout which then were analyzed and discussed by specially selected "critics." Following the symposium, the authors were given an opportunity to revise their papers.

The papers, which we believe to be significant in the resolution of the problem, were compiled in this volume in order to make them available to school administrators, pupil personnel workers and, more specifically, guidance counselors. It is expected that others—agency personnel, social workers, parents, school board members, teacher and counselor educators, and business and labor leaders—will find the book of interest and valuable.

DANIEL SCHREIBER, *Director*
Project: School Dropouts

PREFACE

> A boy or a girl has only a limited time in their life in which to get an education and yet it will shape their whole lives and the lives of their children. . . .
>
> One of the things which we're going to do here is to provide out of the Presidential Emergency Fund $250,000 on an emergency basis for *guidance counselors* to see if we can get some of these boys and girls back to school. They will appreciate any effort we make for the rest of their lives.

Thus spoke the late President John F. Kennedy at the opening of a press conference on August 1, 1963.

The American Personnel and Guidance Association has been acutely aware of its function in a changing and complex society. Continually evaluating its role, it has accepted challenges, encouraged improvements, and anticipated new difficulties that will confront America's youth. From its inception APGA has expanded and intensified its services so as to help counselors remain in congruence with new societal forces.

Our policy statement issued in December 1957 states that "at the heart of decision making lies one of the nation's basic freedoms—*freedom of choice*." Since one of the duties of a counselor is to assist children in the decisions they must make in order to grow up, and since this presupposes not only the freedom to choose but also a knowledge of the available alternatives, as well as a recognition that one decision usually precludes all others, today's counselor must be exceptionally well qualified.

Cognizant of its responsibilities to the profession, the American Personnel and Guidance Association has engaged in many studies. In 1961, APGA joined with the National Education

Association to sponsor a conference in GUIDANCE FOR THE ACADEMICALLY TALENTED STUDENT. In 1962, its Commission on Guidance in the American Schools issued a report, written by the project director, Dr. C. Gilbert Wrenn, titled THE COUNSELOR IN A CHANGING WORLD. And in 1963, it again joined with the National Education Association, particularly with the Project on School Dropouts, to sponsor a symposium, GUIDANCE AND THE SCHOOL DROPOUT.

We add our appreciation and gratitude, expressed elsewhere by Daniel Schreiber, to the many persons who contributed to the success of the symposium and to the publication of this book. We believe that it will be of assistance to counselors in helping all youth to achieve a meaningful and successful adulthood.

ARTHUR A. HITCHCOCK, *Executive Director*
American Personnel and Guidance Association

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The publication of this book was made possible through the combined efforts and talents of a number of people.

Debts of sincere gratitude are due to the symposium participants, both authors and critics, and particularly to C. Gilbert Wrenn who served as chairman of the symposium. The names and professional affiliation of the participants appear on page 267.

Particular credit and recognition must be accorded to Carl McDaniels, associate director of APGA, for his outstanding work in organizing the symposium and for his valuable assistance at all times.

Appreciation is also extended to Major General William C. Westmoreland, USA, superintendent of the United States Military Academy, and to the officers of the Academy for making the facilities at West Point available and for the graciousness and hospitality shown to the participants.

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Special thanks are due to Evelyn Murray, Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor, to the U.S. Department of Labor and John Diebold, and to the Maryland Department of Employment Security for permission to reprint the material included in one of the appendices.

The wise guidance given to the Project on School Dropouts by Lyle W. Ashby, deputy executive secretary, and Lawrence G.

Derthick, assistant executive secretary for educational services, of the National Education Association, calls for special recognition.

Thanks and appreciation are extended to Anne Nottingham for her able assistance with the symposium arrangements and for typing of the manuscript; and to Sidney Dorros, Kenneth B. Frye, and Mrs. Anne Zahary of the NEA Publications Division for preparing the manuscript for publication.

I am particularly indebted to Bernard A. Kaplan who collaborated and worked closely with me in the organization of the symposium and in the preparation and editing of the manuscript. During the academic year 1962-63, Dr. Kaplan, while on leave from the New York State Department of Education, served as assistant director of the Project on School Dropouts.

Gratitude is expressed to Selina, Lenore, and Scott, who taught me much about developing adolescents, and to my wife Bernice, for her critical evaluation and encouragement.

Daniel Schreiber, *Director*
Project: School Dropouts

January 6, 1964

CONTENTS

1 An Introduction to the School Dropout □ *Daniel Schreiber*

PART I □ THE DROPOUT—GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

24 The Schools: Climate Affects Fallout □ *Elizabeth M. Drews*

40 The High School Dropout in Elementary School □ *Nadine Lambert*

66 Vocational Development of High School Dropout □ *Donald E. Super*

84 Realities of the Job Market for the High School Dropout □ *Herbert Bienstock*

PART II □ GUIDANCE PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

117 Guidance Program—General Considerations for Its Organization and Administration □ *Dean L. Hummel*

132 The Cooperative Role of the Counselor in Working with Teachers, Others in Pupil Personnel Services, and Community Agencies in Improving School Holding Power □ *Bruce E. Shear*

150 Working with Parents: School-Counselor-Parent-Teacher Interaction: A Developing Pattern □ *Daniel Fullmer*

159 Counseling Services for Out-of-School Youth □ *Harold J. Reed*

PART III □ COUNSELING

176 Counseling and Dropouts-General Considerations □ *Dugald S. Arbuckle*

193 Social Status Differences: Counseling and Guidance for Disadvantaged Youth □ *Edmund W. Gordon*

PART IV □ COUNSELOR EDUCATION

213 Professional Preparation of Counselors: Implications in Regard to School Dropouts □ *Robert O. Stripling*

227 Conspectus □ *C. Gilbert Wrenn*

233 Appendix A

239 Appendix B

253 Appendix C

263 Symposium Participants

267 List of Officers

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCHOOL DROPOUT

Daniel Schreiber

No one who is working on or concerned with this particular problem thinks that school dropout is a new phenomenon; as an institution, it's probably just one day, or several hours, younger than the schools themselves. It is the particular conformity, the necessary style of our incessantly modern life that has made an individual's dropping out of school, in our day, in our decade, a momentous tragic social event. Dropping out indicates a youngster's unwillingness or incapacity to absorb society's more refined tools and knowledge. Whether he failed or left school voluntarily, he has only gone so far; and he can only go so far into life; the larger and richer spheres of social and personal experience immediately begin closing to him. Whether he has specifically chosen and decided so or not, he is relegated to a lower notch, a lower status—his working life will be passed in low-level jobs paying low wages and susceptible to layoffs. In almost every case, he is forced to be content—or discontent—with relatively little, and surely with less than was possible.

You can get a good idea of what I mean by examining any group of statistics dealing with the relationship between occupational status and educational background. For example, people with less than a high school education comprise only about 5 percent of the country's technical and professional personnel. They hold down about one-third of the sales work, managerial, and official positions in the country. On the other hand, about 80 percent of the nation's farm laborers and private household workers never finished high school. Three-fifths of the service workers, and a full three-quarters of the force of the generally unskilled workers, are "old" high school dropouts. Not to mention two-thirds of the unemployed.

The point I want to make is the obvious one that people with less education—in particular, with less than a high school education—generally comprise the lower socioeconomic classes.

At the same time, it holds true today that, in most of the nations of the world, education beyond a minimum stage is the privilege only of a fairly small and select group. In Canada, two-thirds of the students leave before graduation from high school, while in Mexico 98 percent drop out before finishing grade 6. Even in our country, which is fundamentally committed to the ideal of democratic public education, we accept it as a kind of Darwinian fact of life that large numbers of youth will not go on to college or even finish high school.

The present national high school dropout rate is about 35 percent. Fourteen years ago it was more than 50 percent; and in 1950, only 13 years ago, for the first time in American educational history, more students graduated from high school than dropped out. Yet, so far as I know, there was no dropout problem 14 years ago as we know it today. There was, however, a large demand for unskilled labor; and we might hazard the guess that the winnowing involved in the educational process, with high rates of dropout failure and with academic high schools concentrating on the college-bound students, was even encouraged as a natural reinforcement of the division of labor.

PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE DROPOUT

So it is not the phenomenon of school dropout, but the problem of school dropout, which is new. The important thing is that it's impossible today not to see it as the keystone of a conglomeration of problems which threatens to overwhelm the stability of American existence. Let me recapitulate briefly some of the features of this conglomeration.

Exploding Population

During 1963, approximately 3.8 million youth reached the age of 16, which is 1 million more than reached that age in 1962.

For all students, particularly dropouts, 16 years is a critical age because it is the end of compulsory education in most states, and a child is free to leave school at, or anytime after, reaching that age. Also the number of children reaching age 16 each year during the remainder of the decade approximates 3.8 million, so that during the decade 1960-70 an unprecedented 26 million young people, with varying degrees of preparation, will pass out of the schools and into the labor market. If some revolutionary improvement has not been brought about, at least 7.5 million of them will be school dropouts—and 2.5 million of these, it is estimated, will have had less than eight years of formal education.

Automation

I am no economist, and I am certainly not qualified to participate in the debate whether or not new techniques of automation create as many jobs as they demolish. But there is little question about the kinds of jobs that are being done away with, or that educational requirements for employment are being raised across the board.

Let me give you a small but graphic instance of what I mean. A pipeline is being planned which will carry coal in the liquefied form of slurry from West Virginia to New York. Now, as I understand it, this pipeline isn't even yet off the drawing boards, but the Associated Railroads of New Jersey are already lobbying for a bill to bar it, on the grounds that its operation in New Jersey will require only 5 to 10 men trained in handling computer controls—compared with the 1,236 workers whose jobs are dependent on the coal traffic at present.

Migration

In many respects, this technological development afflicts rural areas most drastically. Employment possibilities, as everybody knows, are rapidly declining in these areas. The flight to the cities for jobs is best illustrated by U.S. Census Bureau figures: in 1950, there were 9.5 million persons, ages 10-19, living in rural areas; in 1960, 10 years later, there were 6.1 million persons, ages 20-29, living in such areas. Obviously the difference of 3.4 million, or a percentage decrease of 36 percent, between the corresponding age groups represents a minimum loss to the rural areas. In sharp contrast to this, 85 percent of the national population growth during the last decade took place in urban areas, and the trend will continue. Farm mechanization is proceeding at such a pace, I am told, that by 1970 some 4.2 million farmers, or 5 percent of the labor force, will be able to feed the entire nation. Needless to say, among those who migrate in daily waves to the great city, those with less educational background are at the greatest disadvantage. Also, it is certain that isolated minorities—the Southern rural Negro, the Southern Appalachian Mountain white, the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican-American—suffer deepest. Again, many of these people are being disabled by the fact that the jobs which they are capable of filling in the cities are disappearing.

Thus, then, is the future faced by the dropout, the vocationally incompetent, a future of social failure and economic suicide.

WHO IS THE DROPOUT?

But who is the dropout? What does he look like as a student? What does he look like statistically?

Well, he is slightly more often male than female. In a recent study by the Department of Labor of seven widely dispersed, middle-sized cities, it was found that 53 percent of the dropouts were boys. The great majority of these youth, about 45 percent in most of the studies I have seen, quit school at age 16; in a recent state-wide study completed in Maryland, it was found that 60 percent of all the dropouts that year had quit school during or before their sixteenth year. About one-quarter of them were in grade 10 when they quit. This is relevant for guidance because it means, in most instances, that they had just transferred out of a junior high school into the new high school environment. Also, it stands to reason; in Maryland, it was found that more than 50 percent had been retained at least once in either elementary school or junior high school—or both.

Several other communities found that 9 out of 10 dropouts had been retained once, and that 6 out of 10 had been retained two or more times.

Only one-quarter of the Maryland students had been previously suspended from school, and only one-fifth had been considered serious behavior problems. I cannot emphasize too much the implication of these facts; dropout is by no means synonymous with juvenile delinquency, and it would be disastrous for us to approach these two problems in the same manner.

One other group of statistics which should help indicate even more graphically the nature of the dropout problem in Maryland shows that 70 percent of the mothers and 80 percent of the fathers of the high school dropouts had never finished high school themselves, and that 25 percent of the mothers and 30 percent of the fathers had never completed the sixth grade. Similarly, in a study done by Van Dyke and Hoyt in Iowa, it was found that 72 percent of the mothers and 79 percent of the fathers of dropouts had been dropouts themselves. These figures are staggering; and I think you will agree that they begin forcing us to see that it is by no means only the potential dropout child we have to deal with but his parents as well. In a couple of other recent studies—one in rural Louisiana and another in New York State—it was discovered that two-thirds of the parents of dropouts held negative or indifferent attitudes toward the value of education. They felt that the lack of a high school education would be no obstacle to their child's later adjustment or success. On the other hand, almost all the parents of in-school students considered that a young person without at least a high school diploma would be seriously handicapped.

Finally, here are a few things the Maryland study uncovered about the dropout in relation to the school. Only about one-tenth were following the academic course; the great majority were enrolled in the so-called "general course"; and the remainder were scattered in the commercial and vocational courses. One-tenth, at the time they left school, were reading below the third-grade level—they might as well have been illiterate—and a full 45 percent were reading at a sixth-grade level or lower. Half of them had been classified in the category of "below-average" mental ability—and most of them, in one way or another, probably knew it. In the Department of Labor's Seven City Study mentioned earlier, 6 percent of the dropouts were found to have IQ's over 110, and 55 percent had IQ's over 90. In a Tennessee study done in 1962 it was revealed that approximately 17 percent had high IQ's. These then, from the point of view of the school, are some of the major factors involved in the dropout problem: (a) reading retardation, (b) grade retention, (c) low intelligence, (d) negative self-image, and (e) family attitudes. But what, more specifically, is the challenge that the dropout problem poses the schools? Basically, it isn't to help combat the war against unemployment or to get more young people qualified for the new jobs being created, important as these aims are. Neither is it primarily to neutralize the "social dynamite" simmering in our large city slums. It seems to me that, foremost, the problem is an educational one—to help youth achieve meaningful success in their environment and to become intelligent, productive, participating adults in our society.

NEW APPROACHES

Let me, then, describe for you briefly some of the new approaches that have been brought to bear on this crucial problem. Possibly many of the projects and programs I am about to describe are not transferable to other communities, depending as they do on the facilities available and the dimensions of the problem. But the very variety of these programs should indicate that there is no over-all, standardized solution. I can tell you, furthermore, that no one of these programs has made more than a dent in the problem of its locale. Yet this same variety is also a measure of what imaginative and energetic concern can accomplish. What these programs have in common is the will to confront the very real needs of the large segment of youth in question, coupled with the belief that attitudes and motivation can be changed through meaningful, worthwhile, and successful experiences.

These programs can be divided into six main areas:

1. School-related adult education programs for the employed and the unemployed
2. Job-upgrading programs
3. Work-study programs
4. Operation return
5. Higher Horizons and compensatory education
6. Kindergarten and early childhood.

School-Related Programs

In Indianapolis, the Western Electric Company and the Board of Education, as cosponsors, instituted accredited high school courses for Western Electric employees. The company pays custodial and maintenance costs while the school system pays the teachers' salaries. The program, which is projected over a six-year period, offers courses in mathematics, economics, history, government, etc., which are taught by active and retired high school teachers on the plant premises. Moreover, the courses are taught during three different periods to correspond to the schedules of personnel working the three plant shifts. Since classes are held on the plant premise, it ensures the participation of large numbers of people who otherwise, because of one inconvenience or another, would probably not have bothered. A total of 400 workers—most of them former high school dropouts—have enrolled in the program to pursue the delayed diploma.

One of the problems that has confronted the development of training programs under the Area Redevelopment and Manpower and Development Training Acts has been the astounding frequency of illiteracy among the segment of the working population aimed at. For example, of 1,015 long-term unemployed who were notified of the Area Redevelopment Project in Huntington, West Virginia, only 640 appeared for aptitude tests. Of these, only 240 qualified for retraining. West Virginia officials estimate that fully half of the state's unemployed can't be retrained because they are functionally illiterate. Most of these have had some schooling but cannot read or understand arithmetic well enough to hold down even menial jobs. In a Connecticut program, only 84 of an original 3,500 applicants, or 2.4 percent, survived.

In Norfolk, Virginia, however, the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education is underwriting a program in "general education" that supplements an MDTA project. Students receive four hours of daily training in such areas as electronics, auto mechanics, bricklaying, etc., take an additional three hours daily in language arts and arithmetic, as well as in occupational information and human relations. A similar program has recently been initiated in Washington, D.C.

Despite the publicity given to these programs and the efforts made to recruit the unemployed to register for retraining, few eligibles show up and fewer finish. In order to discover the reasons for this, the U.S. Department of Labor made a $25,000 grant to the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College to study the decision process among workers who are confronted with the choice of entering a retraining program. Reasons to be explored are financial difficulties, ability anxiety, doubts about the value of retraining, and negative feelings about returning to school or to the labor market.

Yet, effective and important as they are, such programs as these are limited in scope and at best corrective. Their *modus operandi* is to help their bewildered clientele adjust to a world which was cast inevitably long before they knew it—a world they themselves are powerless to affect.

Job-Upgrading Programs

The famous Detroit Job-Upgrading Program has operated for a number of years now with continuing success under the joint sponsorship of the Detroit Public School System and the Detroit Youth Council. Last year about a 1,000 dropouts, for an average of 14 weeks, attended regular morning sessions of specialized instruction, aimed at raising them to the level of employability. In addition to the training he receives in specific skills (such as practice in alphabetizing that he may need in a clerical position), the student is instructed in matters involved in all types of employment. Pointers on filling job applications, for example, range from explanation of the importance of neatness and legibility to advice on factors to consider in listing references. Great emphasis is given to the development of personality traits helpful in holding jobs—the ability to get along with co-workers, a sense of reliability and responsibility, and the opportunity to develop a constructive self-image.

During the afternoon, the participants receive closely supervised job training. As a result of heartening cooperation on the part of business and industry, these youngsters work in various establishments throughout the city—as maintenance helpers, engineer helpers, nurses' helpers, and so forth. They are paid a salary of 60¢ an hour while receiving this specialized training.

Another program, in Chicago, similar in some respects to the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program, is notable because it illustrates the even further extent to which business or an industry can involve itself, if it wishes. After consulting with Dr. Benjamin Willis, general superintendent of schools, officials of the Carson, Pirie, Scott Company, a large department store, decided to undertake an experimental work-study program with 59 young dropouts. These young people came from a range of ethnic groups and were of widely varying mental abilities. For three weeks, during which they received a nominal salary, they attended orientation courses dealing with requirements of personal appearance and communication skills necessary for department store work. Then the regular program began. All youngsters work three days a week at one of the store's regular jobs—as sales clerks, stockroom workers, or clerical assistants, what have you—at a salary of $1 an hour. The other two days a week they attend classes in a nearby office building where they receive instruction in areas important to the development of their marketable skills—reading, speech, mathematics, and citizenship.

The experiment is over a year old now. At last report, 41 of the original 59 participants are still active in the program. Of those who have left, only 11 were either fired or quit for lack of interest. I think it is worth mentioning that since the program's inception, all the remaining 41 participants have received at least one, and most of them more than one, raise.

In both these cases there is something of an outreach on the part of the employing agency. Participation in the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program is voluntary. But counselors engage in a certain amount of proselytizing activity. And the initial group of participants in the Carson, Pirie, Scott experiment were carefully selected from the school system. In other words, the agency, in both these instances, has to look for young people it can help.

Let me pass on now to a few of the programs which are designed to hold, if possible, and to better prepare, students who have managed to reach high school but who are verging on dropping out. Most of these programs are of the work-study variety and are essentially similar in over-all design to the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program.

Work-Study Programs

Just last year the State of New York began putting this type of program on a state-wide basis. The program is called "STEP." Funds were channeled to establish experimental projects in seven of the state's large cities. In each community, a number of junior and senior high school students identified as potential dropouts were offered the chance to participate. They attend school during one part of the day; during the second half of the day they receive work training in various public buildings for which they are paid 70¢ an hour out of state funds.

A similar work-study program was initiated a couple of years ago in St. Louis. I quote you some brief statistics which testify, by themselves, to the success of the first year of its operation. The actual rate of dropout among the students enrolled in the program was 11.6 percent. Among the students in a matched control group, the rate of dropout was 35.2 percent.

In Kansas City, a work-study program of this type is entering its second year of operation. This is a six-year controlled experiment involving a group of boys who, last year, were 13 and 14 years old and in the eighth grade, and who had been identified as potential dropouts. Now, at the beginning of the second year of the project, each boy will continue one-half day in school with a special program and work during the second half of the day on an individual job. During the fifth year he will work full time, and upon the completion of the year he will receive a special work certificate from the school system. A number of Kansas City employers have agreed to keep one job permanently open as a training position for each boy in the program 16 years of age or older.

In San Francisco, the Shell Oil Company, in particular, has participated significantly in the school system's Distributive Education Program. Students who are selected by the schools receive 32 hours of training at Shell's Advanced Retail Training Center. Afterwards they receive on-the-job training at selected Shell service stations until high school graduation. Dealers time the youngsters and pay them the going rate for part-time attendants.

Also in San Francisco, a work-study program was recently inaugurated under the joint sponsorship of the school system and the San Francisco Housing Authority. The purpose of the program is to provide potential dropouts with part-time jobs, both to supply them with pocket money and to give them some recognition of the further education required for permanent employment. The Housing Authority provides jobs for high school juniors and seniors residing in its developments. Students attend four hours of classes in the morning and work four hours in the afternoon at a variety of jobs—as office machine operators, typists, inventory clerks, gardeners, etc. They are supervised by "work experience coordinators" who evaluate them for the school; and, in addition to their scholarship-salary of $1.75 an hour, they will receive five semester credits for their experience.

Operation Return Programs

Adult evening classes are good. They help those men and women who want to be helped. But the program assumes that unemployed, out-of-school youth, after a day of doing nothing, are sufficiently motivated and willing to go to school at night. Because this isn't always true, several school systems have instituted daytime programs for such youth.

One such program in New York City, known as Operation Return, was developed for dropouts "who should never have left school." The important features to be noted are that (a) there is a separate program for these returnees so that the embarrassment involved in attending classes with younger students is obviated, (b) the students are capable of obtaining a high school diploma before reaching age 21, (c) the students intend to remain in school until graduation, and that (d) there is a heavy emphasis on commercial and business courses. At present, 192 boys and 40 girls are in the program.

The Adult and Vocational Division of the Seattle public schools recently instituted day classes for adults in trade training, business education, and academic high school subjects. It is possible for an individual to begin with the ninth grade and get a full four years of high school training. Dropouts sometimes enter directly from high school, but more often they enter after they have tried unsuccessfully to find work.

I hope I haven't overloaded my presentation to give you a false perspective on what I consider the problem to be. To put it frankly, work-study, job-upgrading or operation return programs, good as they are, are not the answer; at least they are not the sole answer. They are almost a corrective rather than a preventive method. They are important, but they should be something like a last resort.

Higher Horizons Programs

There are other approaches which deal with the problem more fundamentally, and I want to describe briefly one program—a program with which I was intimately connected before I came to my present assignment—namely New York City's Higher Horizons Program which was almost prototypical.

The Higher Horizons Program began six years ago as a Demonstration Guidance Project in a single junior high school in a low socioeconomic neighborhood. Its main premise was that, regardless of what past records and IQ scores indicated, large numbers of human talents—human lives, in fact—were going to waste which could be retrieved. As of today, 65 schools with a population of 45,000 participants are in the program, and the accuracy of its premises has been substantiated many times over.

The program begins with third-grade students and extends to cover the population of 13 junior high schools. At the beginning of the year, these students are given intelligence, and reading and arithmetic ability tests. They are then exposed to a program of instruction which employs every productive technique available and emphasizes remedial teaching in arithmetic and reading. But these classroom activities are supplemented and balanced by others which are considered of equal, if not greater, importance. First of all, the guidance staff of each of the schools participating in the program has been enlarged so that each has at least one full-time guidance counselor. I cannot possibly overstate the importance of guidance being provided to every child, to assure him continually of the school's positive commitment to him and his potential; and not just to the child who is in need, when he is in need. Secondly, an extensive program in cultural enrichment was initiated to expose these often incredibly impoverished children and young people to many aspects of this world to which they belong—through trips to theaters, concerts, museums, libraries—experiences taken for granted in the instance of the average middle class child—which they might otherwise never come to know. Finally, in recognizing that the child's aspirational uplift must be sustained and encouraged by his total environment, great attention is being given to involving the parents of the Higher Horizons students in the schools' endeavors through guidance, newsletters, and workshops.

Let me record some of the accomplishments of the original Demonstration Guidance Project students. In various studies, they showed an average individual gain of 13 IQ points in three years. The average gain for the boys was 17 points and for the girls, 11 points. The boys, incidentally, had lower scores than the girls on the first test and therefore produced greater gains. Let me quote from a study of 81 pupils who had taken both tests: "Sixty-six showed an increase; 12 showed a drop; and 3 remained the same. . . ." This ratio of increase to decrease of five to one remained constant in all of the studies that were done. Twenty-one students, or more than one-fourth of the group, showed gains of more than 21 points; 13 between 21 and 30 points; 6 between 31 and 50 points; and 2 between 51 and 60 points. In 1957, 26 percent of the students had scored in the IQ category of 110 or above. In 1961, 50 percent had scored 110 and over. What is particularly interesting is the increase in the IQ in view of previous findings that boys and girls from this background usually show a decrease in IQ as they grow older.

> Among the 329 Demonstration Guidance Project students who attended George Washington High School, the rate of dropout was 22 percent. This is one-third lower than the rate for the city as a whole and far lower than the rate of George Washington High School.
>
> Of these students, 108 received academic diplomas. In the three pre-project years, only 43 graduates of Junior High School 43, who subsequently attended George Washington High School, obtained academic diplomas.
>
> During the three pre-project years, the highest academic standings attained by graduates of Junior High School 43 at George Washington High School were 51, 65, and 226, respectively. In the project years, some graduates of Junior High School 43 stood among the top 10 of George Washington High School's 800-900 students.
>
> In the class of 1960 they ranked number 1, 4, 6.
>
> In the class of 1961 one ranked number 4.
>
> In the class of 1962 they ranked 2, 4, 9.

Guidance and counseling services have played an important and significant role in the success of the Higher Horizons Program. In 1958, the year prior to the introduction of the city-wide program, the 52 elementary schools had no guidance counselors except for the help they received from the district superintendent's office while the 13 junior high schools had one counselor each. Today, every elementary school has at least one counselor and some have two, while the junior high schools have an average of four counselors each. One hundred and seventeen counselors are assigned, where formerly there were only 13 to help the 44,150 pupils, for a ratio of 1 counselor to every 375 pupils.

I mentioned earlier that the Higher Horizons Program is somewhat prototypical. It has served as a model for a number of city and state programs, including several of those in the Ford Foundation's Great Cities Grey Areas Program. None of these other programs is a direct copy of Higher Horizons; each of them is unique in some respects and molded to the particular problems of its community.

The effort in Project ABLE, sponsored by the New York State Education Department, is to grapple with those educational roots of the dropout problem which have their source in facts of socioeconomic condition and of what is called "cultural deprivation." The impetus behind Project ABLE makes part of a developing philosophy which is presently known as that of "compensatory education." As partial definition, let me quote from a bill entitled "Special Compensatory Education Programs for Culturally Disadvantaged Children," which was passed unanimously by the California Legislature:

> It is the intent and purpose of the Legislature to encourage the establishment and development of programs by local officers and agencies of the public school system directed to identifying those pupils affected by language, cultural and economic disadvantage who are potentially capable of completing the regular course of instruction leading to graduation from the public elementary and secondary schools, and by special services, techniques, and activities to stimulating their interest in intellectual, cultural, and educational attainment.

The hope of such programs, including those of Project ABLE, is to make acceptable to their participants, through education, the mainstream of the American cultural experience.

Early Childhood Programs

You will recall that I said that the Higher Horizons Program begins its operations in the third grade of the elementary schools. But I am going to suggest that not even this beginning, given the magnitude of the problems we are confronting, comes soon enough. I am going to recommend, first of all, universal kindergarten. Let me give a few examples.

In Philadelphia, during the summer of 1962, a special program was conducted for a group of preschool, disadvantaged children. In essence, the program consisted of an intensive and extensive kindergarten program coupled with weekly parent workshops conducted by the kindergarten supervisor. It was a small-scale undertaking but I think you may find some of the results interesting. On the initial battery of tests, before the program began, 8 of the 13 children were unable to name such pictures as tree, flag, pitcher, and leaf. A month later when the children were retested, their average IQ on the Stanford-Binet had risen to 102—an increase of 14 points—and no child scored lower on the second test. The supervising psychologist indicated that the increases are significant at the 1 percent level.

Another kind of experimental program got under way last year in Racine, Wisconsin. It involves a class of so-called "culturally deprived" children. They follow the normal half-day kindergarten routine. During the afternoon, though, they are being brought together as a group for additional activities designed to expand their background and horizons. As in the case of the Higher Horizons students, they are taken on field trips at least twice a week—on nature hikes, to museums, parks, farms, and factories. They are being exposed to an abundance of reading materials; and their classroom has been outfitted with TV and a tape recorder. All this additional activity and instruction is aimed at "building a background" of experience and understanding which can later lend meaning to the art of reading.

Recently, the Baltimore school system opened two centers under its Project HELP. These centers, located in poor neighborhoods, have a staff of at least four persons each, including two teachers and a volunteer mother, serving on a once-a-week rotating basis, which is responsible for 30 four- to five-year-old children. These project centers are neither day-care centers nor nursery schools: They comprise educational programs that require three hours of daily attendance and are designed precisely to provide their pupils with the learning experiences they might otherwise miss. There is special emphasis on the development of language and communication skills, on the reinforcement of stable self-concepts, on the encouragement of articulation, expression, and curiosity.

This may strike you as being as far as the matter can be pushed. But in New York City, an experimental prekindergarten, involving three-, four-, and five-year olds, has just gone into operation in one district. This program will entail daily two-hour sessions, and it has the general intention of the Racine plan. But an important added feature will be its effort to carry over and introduce the school experience of the child into the home.

THE CHALLENGE

The wide scope of these programs demonstrates the imagination, ingenuity, and resourcefulness that dedicated educators can and do bring to the resolution of America's number one education problem—the school dropout. Intertwined with these programs is the belief that lack of guidance and counseling has contributed to the severity of the problem and that more and better guidance and counseling will greatly improve youth's chances to achieve meaningful success in school and in adult life. Whether or not this is true will depend on the counselor's willingness and ability to continually evaluate and rethink his role and responsibilities in guiding all children. For the counselor, especially, the heart of the dropout problem is not simply that so many sink but that so many never learned to swim.

PART I

THE DROPOUT—GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Schools: Climate Affects Fallout 24
Elizabeth M. Drews

The High School Dropout in Elementary School 40
Nadine Lambert

Vocational Development of High School Dropout 66
Donald E. Super

Realities of the Job Market for the High School Dropout 84
Herbert Bienstock

The high school dropout has long been a subject of interest to guidance counselors. The first national guidance convention at Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1913 featured a report on high school dropouts; and over the last 50 years numerous dropout studies and surveys have been conducted. These investigations have analyzed the nature and scope of the dropout phenomenon; they have studied dropout characteristics and reasons for leaving; they have followed up dropouts to determine their subsequent adjustment or success. Frequently these studies have included proposals for changes in the school and guidance programs aimed at reducing the number of dropouts.

Over the last five decades, the nation's public schools have steadily increased their holding power from less than 30 percent to approximately 65 percent. During the last few years, we have seen a marked increase in national interest and concern over school dropouts. Indeed, it is now referred to as the dropout problem. There are many reasons for this heightened concern. Among them are the following: (a) The increased birth rates of the 1940's and early 1950's are now being reflected in greater numbers of teenagers and young adults in our population. This increase will continue unabated at least until 1970 and probably later. (b) As industry has accelerated its technological improvements and automated more of its processes, unskilled and semiskilled jobs have decreased precipitously. In the past, these jobs absorbed the bulk of the untrained or undereducated populace, i.e., most school dropouts. (c) Since World War II and the emergence of the Soviet challenge, education has been characterized by an intensified concern for fuller development of the individual pupil's potentialities and talents. The National Defense Education Act, various talent searches, and programs for the gifted are examples of this interest. (d) Concern on the part of the community over the individual's well-being and his role as a productive citizen has grown. Community guidance and mental health services movements have likewise steadily grown, as have more liberal provisions for welfare benefits and public aid assistance. (e) Greater emphasis has been placed on equality of opportunity, especially educational and vocational opportunity. This is perhaps most directly attributable to the civil rights movement of the last decade. (f) Greater emphasis is being given to the completion of more years of formal education. High school diplomas, college attendance, and in some instances, even graduate work, are now more often specified by employers as essential job prerequisites. (g) The continued shift in the country from a rural to an urban society has tended to underscore the importance of a formal, minimal (high school), and comprehensive education, particularly as it relates to productive and responsible citizenship. There has been, for example, a recent upswing in interest over education of "culturally disadvantaged" children who are concentrated, for the most part, in our large urban centers.

The four papers in this section assess the current dimensions of the dropout problem, taking into account one or more of the preceding factors. Drews examines the negative effects of school policies and operational procedures on students. Two recent studies of note are analyzed in detail by Lambert and Super and pertinent current labor market-census statistics are reviewed by Bienstock.

Drews' paper focuses primarily on slow learners and culturally deprived pupils. It is Drews' tenet that the demoralizing climate in the schools which so thoroughly envelops these two groups of pupils is responsible for the large proportion in each group that drop out of school. The schools must be able to show through their actions, says Drews, that the individual is highly valued and that he is being educated to become a participating citizen. In a number of concrete instances, for example, grouping, reading, teacher attitudes, and motivation deficiency, Drews shows that the school falls far short of its expressed goals for its pupils and that this contributes to the debilitating climate which inexorably produces dropouts. Moreover, the problem is doubly regrettable, she says, because we now have available the technical virtuosity and the necessary knowledge of individual differences and learning styles to meet these children's needs. Only inefficiency and lack of caring keep them from being fully educated.

The school counselor will be especially interested in Drews' discussion concerning the potential dropout's confusion with role and future. The potential dropout, she says, is confused as to his possible role in the world and as to what the world might offer. He lives in "a quite unsatisfactory life context" and as a result is unaware of many possibilities. Counselors will also be interested in her thesis that more of the feminine dimension is needed in education. While this last point is not related specifically to guidance and counseling, the inference is definitely there. It is reminiscent, too, of a recently advocated proposition that the counselor is essentially a woman.

In "The High School Dropout in Elementary School," Lambert draws on a California study by Bower and Larsen to substantiate the findings of earlier studies pertaining to school dropouts. On the basis of these various findings, she makes two important observations: (a) potential dropouts can be identified as early as the elementary school, and (b) school dropout status is a manifestation of a larger social problem—the inability of school and society to meet the needs of a large proportion of school age youth. According to Lambert, we must better utilize the predictive data now readily available for pupils early in their school life and be prepared to act in their behalf on this basis. Since the school dropout is not specifically a secondary school problem, this paper offers important considerations for the elementary school and for nonschool agencies. Lambert's suggestions for assisting the pupil to cope with the demands of school and society, although mentioned only briefly, should be of special interest to the reader.

In the course of her paper, Lambert raises an interesting question. Are educators doing themselves and their pupils a disservice when they isolate specific pupil problems and deal with these individually (i.e., set up special programs or services on this basis)? There are many different kinds of problems and only a limited amount of services available. In view of this, would it not be more expedient and beneficial to pool our various services and efforts, now geared to different problems, and direct them to "similar varieties of learning and behavior problems"? In other words, instead of providing special guidance services for potential dropouts, let us say, and community mental health services for delinquents or emotionally disturbed children, Lambert suggests that we consider the possibility of combining the two efforts in a mutual attack on a number of similar or related youth problems.

What is likely to happen to dropouts after they leave school, particularly with respect to vocational placement and job success? The Super and Bienstock papers consider this question. The bulk of data available on this subject has consisted largely of follow-up or status surveys of dropouts. On this basis, we have been able to obtain a general impression of the dropout's record in employment and job success. Heretofore we have had scant study of dropouts, for a continuous period of time after they leave school. The occasional follow-up studies conducted by schools or other agencies are frequently limited because they are "spot" surveys, or they are incomplete because of a loss of contact by the school with many of its former students. When students are reached, they often refuse to reply. It would be especially helpful to know what happens to a group of typical school dropouts 1 year, 5 years, 10 years, and 20 years after they leave school. On the basis of such information, counselors would be in a more favorable position than they are now in making predictions with respect to individual behavior over a period of time.

Because of the paucity of long-term follow-up data, Super's paper is all the more significant. He reviews preliminary data for school dropouts from the Career Pattern Study. In this study, now under way, a typical group of high school freshmen are being followed until they reach age 35. In his paper, Super compares high school boys who graduated with high school boys who dropped out of school. Data are now available for each group up to age 25.

One of the first findings Super comments on, and perhaps an aspect of previous dropout surveys which has not received sufficient attention, pertains to the proportion of dropouts who continue their education in some capacity after leaving school. In his investigation, Super found that nearly half of the group of dropouts subsequently obtained high school equivalency diplomas. He asks, "Should this group be classified once and always as dropouts?"

What kinds of jobs, over the years, do dropouts acquire? Does the high school dropout advance as rapidly in his job as the high school graduate? How do dropouts rate their occupational (current job) and career (long-term) success? How often do dropouts change jobs? How long does the average dropout stay on a job? Do these findings for dropouts vary significantly for high school graduates? Data pertaining to these questions from the Career Pattern Study are presented and analyzed by Super. One of the more striking conclusions emerging from these findings is that, while there are a number of distinctive differences, there are also a considerable number of similarities for the two groups, at least during the early stages of their career development. Each group, for example, averaged three job changes during the interval investigated.

Super takes pains to point out that vocational development can involve deterioration as well as continuing growth. Super's findings indicate that for counselors, in particular, dropouts constitute a special concern because they tend to deteriorate vocationally a few years after leaving school.

Bienstock presents a cogent analysis of the current job market as it relates to the worker's educational level. In addition, he indicates what effect population and labor force trends (projected in most instances to 1970) will probably have on high school dropouts. Bienstock shows that the job outlook for high school dropouts is bleak, indeed. Dropouts can generally expect to face higher rates of unemployment and to work at lower skill levels and at lower annual and lifetime earnings. In these facts and projections, incidentally, lies much of the nation's present concern over dropouts.

Bienstock feels that we are left with two alternatives. We must develop training methods appropriate to place dropouts into rapidly expanding areas of the economy from which they are now excluded and, for a lesser number, to better motivate them to take advantage of current educational opportunities. *Or* we must be prepared to face the cheerless prospect of higher levels of unemployment and temporary work in rapidly disappearing jobs, jobs that are most susceptible to displacement by continued automation and technological improvements, for a substantial segment of our labor force.

Thus, Part One describes today's dropout as he moves, usually unsuccessfully, through elementary school, leaves high school, struggles to get or keep a job, and as he faces an uncertain, disquieting future. It is against this forthright analysis that the later papers will set forth proposed solutions and roles for counselors and guidance workers as they seek to utilize their special talents and services in ameliorating the problem.

The Schools:
Climate Affects Fallout

Elizabeth M. Drews

"Do you think some day they'll make a pill that will make me smart like other people?" This was the question of an extremely retarded (IQ below 50) child as he put his hand in that of a visiting psychologist. He was barely educable, but school and special experiences were making a difference, and he had hope. Funds allocated by the government and by state legislatures have made special education for the diagnosed-as-retarded more and more possible in the past decade. Unfortunately there has not been an equal (or a similar) interest in allocation of funds to provide appropriate treatment for the slow learner and the culturally deprived—the potential school dropout.

The problem is urgent and requires an investment of much human energy and intelligence as well as money. Basic to the rather fundamental educational changes that will be proposed in this paper is a need for clarification of values and related aims. Those which are held to be appropriate are based on democratic ideals and the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is vital, as Erikson has said, "that these values and ideals be brought into prominence and that the promise of American life be kept."[1] More specifically this will mean that there must be some evidence, in terms of what the school does, that the individual is highly valued and that he is being helped to become a participating citizen in his society.

With such values serving as warp we look now for patterns and techniques that will make the education we envision a reality. Recent research in behavioral science and the rich stores of educational experience give us much to draw upon. Beyond this there remain studies to be made that will fill gaps and add new strata to our basic knowledge. We must come to understand more fully the characteristics, interests, and needs of this group which is at odds with the schools and often with society. To understand the full impact of these factors on youth, we must take into account the cultural realities of the day and study the directions of social change. These are basic to the study and design of an education for anyone, and especially for the disadvantaged. All of these elements must become part of the design and be interwoven in such a way that the education which we fashion has appeal as well as fit and flexibility.

In the United States today only inefficiency and lack of caring keeps all citizens from being well nourished and fully educated. This is our American tragedy—that such monstrous deficiencies exist and effectively keep large numbers below the horizon of any hope that they can ever become self-actualized and fully human.

We have extensive knowledge of individual differences and of varying styles and stages of learning. To match this, we have a literary and technical virtuosity that could produce media of enough diversity and charm to meet all needs. Our deprivation studies point out that without rich and rewarding early environments, emotional and intellectual stunting is inevitable. The child cannot bring it all with him—unfolding from within is not enough, there must be nourishment from without. This enrichment, especially in the emotional realm, must come originally through love and acceptance. Here can be a source of meaning and ultimately of strength to those for whom life even in childhood has become a worthless husk—the young drug addict, the budding hipster.

Other realities, ones that will not be obscured, also rise large in the arena of social and cultural change. Technology, interacting with the forces of fecundity and longevity, has fundamentally altered both our natural and social worlds. The common man, progenitor of the dropout, now lives longer, lives closer to his neighbors, and has great and often unwieldy blocks of leisure. In the jobs that he will hold in the future he is more apt to be at the beck of men than of machines. (Machines will be cybernated and talk only to themselves in the ancient tradition of "Lowell to Cabot to God."[2])

Service to others must take on new importance. This attitude of mutual helpfulness is not only essential for establishing peace in our times but will be the foundation of much that will be called work in the postindustrial society. As Allport[3] says, meaning can be found by many through service to others. Certain psychologists and social observers have already noted that this is a quality that has given strength and resilience in the past.[4] There is no reason why men and children cannot benefit also from supplanting a competitive outlook with a cooperative one. Such thinking cannot be dismissed as utopian and "tender-minded." There is great need for this kind of thinking in today's world and there are many programs built upon such caring and compassion. The historian Toynbee, certainly not a romantic optimist, has called the twentieth century "The Age of Altruism."

EDUCATING THE DISADVANTAGED

As we look at the problem more searchingly it becomes apparent that educating the disadvantaged adolescent is one of the most difficult tasks that the schools face. At no age level do we meet individual differences adequately, despite our lip service to the cliché. (Certainly we do not teach children well who fall behind.) And we fail in greater degree to meet the range of needs as children grow older. Differences grow with increasing age and education. Yet, we make more adjustment for first-graders—mainly nonreaders whom we piously put into three reading groups—than we do for eighth-graders—whose reading typically ranges from grade 1 to 14 and whom we put into a single textbook without compunction.

Our equalitarian views make it hard to admit, as Mr. Dooley did, that "one-half the people are below average." This was a concept which appalled Mr. Hennessey long ago and still appalls most of us today. It has long been known that in a typical eighth-grade class 40 percent of the students read below eighth-grade level.

> If we recognize this great range of abilities as a reality, we must also recognize the need for special teaching approaches and materials. Two years ago one of the superintendents in Lansing asked me a very logical question: Could a group of seventh-graders reading at

> sixth-grade level use texts designed for Grade 7? In order to supply an answer for this question we set up a small experimental study. Fifty students with normal intelligence who read at or near sixth-grade level were selected. (An individual intelligence test, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, as well as group and individual reading tests, were used in the evaluation.)
>
> Our next step was to select median or average paragraphs from the social science and science texts. Three readability formulas (the Dale-Chall, the Flesch, and the Lorge) were applied to the texts, and in this way we chose a selection of somewhat over 100 words that was fairly representative of each book. Eight to 10 comprehension questions were then developed for each paragraph. The final step was to ask each of the 50 to read the two paragraphs orally in an individual situation. Each book was considered to "fit." A student was judged to be able to read the material with understanding or proficiency if he could pronounce 95 percent or more of the words or if he were able to answer correctly 75 percent of the comprehension questions. Only 1 of the 50 could read the science paragraph adequately and only 2 could read the social science selections. It should be mentioned here, however, that even though the books were labeled seventh-grade texts, their readability level, as indicated by the formulas used, was more nearly eighth grade. . . . It seems fairly clear, if our experimental study means anything, that the lower (third) cannot read typical texts with any degree of skill and understanding.[5]

Generally speaking, given the readability level of texts—usually slightly above grade level due to specialized vocabularies—in the average school, one-third of the students cannot understand their textbooks. In the large cities, one-half cannot read the books typically assigned. Failure is preordained.

Most schools have a limited choice of texts, often just one per subject per grade, and are confronted with a seemingly unlimited range of individual differences. Similarly education and learning are narrowly defined. James Baldwin, the gifted Negro writer, makes a point that the races have much to learn from each other. But judging by the kind of learning that is dispensed, the schools do not agree with him. The Negro may have a superlative sense of timing and rhythm, but little time is allotted for such activities after the cymbals and gourds for the rhythm bands are put back on the shelf that last day in kindergarten.

Short shrift is given to all nonverbal learning even though educational philosophers and psychological theorists contend that affect and intellect are inseparable and that the mind-body dichotomy died a natural and well-deserved death. It is true that appropriate books, in terms of interest and vocabulary level, are hard to come by, but good "nonbook" approaches are even rarer. The string section of the Kansas City Symphony does center-of-the-classroom performances for young culturally deprived children, who cluster about the musicians and literally lean into the music, thus becoming one with the emerging rhythm and cadences. However, this is a venture which is supported by nonschool board funds.

Educational materials and our narrow conception of what is educational material need expansion and reconsideration. We also must take a hard look at staffing problems. Here the disadvantaged adolescent learner may face additional barriers. Much has been written about the middle class teacher who does not communicate and perhaps does not care to communicate with the lower class child. An additional difficulty is that secondary teachers tend to be more subject matter centered than their elementary counterparts. The use of child psychology and the teaching of reading, writing, and listening skills may not be foreign idioms but they are usually not part of the repertoire. The teaching-learning exchange enterprise may become a one-way street. "I taught it but he didn't learn" can be a way of putting the burden back on the child, who is then faced with two hopeless tasks—unraveling the meaning of books that do not "fit"[6] and profiting from a teacher's presentation that does not communicate.

A conservative estimate is that 85 percent of the secondary student's classwork is devoted to reading. It is axiomatic that the adolescent must read to succeed in school, yet, as we have seen, available books are largely inappropriate and available teachers are relatively innocent of the art of teaching reading. These facts compound the problem since the potential dropout almost always finds reading difficult—he might excel in nonverbal activities or even in talking, but the educational transaction, as Americans play it, is a game with different rules. We do not teach and encourage creative dance from infancy on as the Samoans do, although a society heading pell-mell toward a leisure explosion might well value such activities. And classroom talk is more often a recitation than a discussion, poor preparation for conversation and dialogue that might compete with the mesmeric living room Cyclops.

Undeniably there are creative programs[7] that offer this disadvantaged segment of our youth new hope—programs that make learning a pleasure.

Miss Mable Fry, a Lansing teacher and counselor, and Miss Granella Smith, a Lansing assistant principal, have developed, over the past 10 years, extensive adjusted programs in basic subjects for adolescent slow learners. They and other teachers working with them have worked out bibliographies of easy-level materials and have made adaptations of traditional course materials. Miss Fry has found that these students respond warmly if given special recognition. For example, she writes letters to them which they receive when they come to class. For many this is the high point of the day and these are the only letters they ever receive. However, the existence of these programs is often a precarious one. Many depend solely upon an imaginative teacher already overburdened with too many students, too few free hours, and too little equipment. Rarely does the community or the government provide adequate funds for this vital undertaking—fashioning a curriculum and rewriting the texts for a group whose interest and talents are at variance with the average teenager.

IMPROVING THE SCHOOLS

If we want to improve the schools, we do not have to wait for congressional action or an act of God, although both might help. Many of the answers to questions that plague and to problems that rankle are known. Innovative teachers and human-being-minded researchers make this apparent. There are excellent solutions simply waiting for someone to put them into effect. We will never know *the* best way—the new relativistic view of the universe and of knowledge makes this clear—but we could improve education manifold simply by applying what we know. There are abundant principles to be gleaned from recent research in human development, animal studies, and growth and counseling psychology. Not only has much been discovered about learning in recent years, but we know that education has become more important than ever before in order to help people find both their private and public identities. This is true for all ages and all ability levels.

A contemporary project in mental health in South Dakota provides a good example. Last fall, I was speaking at the South Dakota State Nurses Association and found myself sitting beside the supervisor of psychiatric nursing at the state mental hospital. Since I had once worked as a clinical psychologist, I was much interested in therapeutic procedures. I asked, "What is new in therapy these days?" I was taken aback when the supervisor said, "We have school dropouts doing counseling." What could this mean? She went on to explain, "We often employ people as aides who drop out of school at the eighth- and ninth-grade level. As we have observed them work, we have seen many who develop warm, empathic relationships with the patients. We send these particular aides to a center where they get two or three weeks of training. They learn to conduct simple conversations, to call people by their names, and to listen carefully as group members talk. Back in the hospital, the aides become group leaders—you might call them counselors. The aide will lead a discussion on some general topic, nonthreatening but interesting. For example, conversation might center about a deodorized skunk."

She said that the surprising thing is that healing has often progressed faster in this situation than in conventional therapy. The language patterns of these aides are usually those of the patient. Interests are similar. This is not always the case in a psychiatrist-patient relationship. Here we see how important human understanding and communication can be. We can see a relationship providing a bridge back to the outside world, making it a safe and desirable place to re-enter. These, then, are asides to show the development or rebirth of human capacities as they occur at different levels. Current studies in education and in the behavioral sciences[8] reveal that all who can find their way to school and keep their buttons buttoned can learn, that children want to learn, and that there are much better ways to encourage learning than those most schools now offer.

We know that education can intervene and keep the expected from happening. A dropout does not have to drop out. But we need radical surgery and imaginative therapy. We need to throw out books that spell failure to the slow because of their formidable vocabularies and to help teachers who do not reach those that they teach to find new languages. We need to allow time for children to listen, to gaze, to smell, to touch—to sense the art of the dance and of conversation. School must be more than a paper world if we want full stimulation and maximum learning. There must be texture, color, and tonal effects. The environment must offer both challenge and response, but above all there must be the human dimension of love. Love is meant in the sense that Murphy[9] uses it, "to embrace all things," and in particular to include enthusiasm and passion.

Studies of environmental deprivation—planned deprivation in the case of animal research and unplanned deprivation growing out of social unconcern in the case of child studies—point to some of the conditions which retard or inhibit realization of full potentialities as human beings. Lack of freedom, of stimulation, and of complexity all stunt development. Scotty dogs[10] raised in cages until adulthood were impaired intellectually, socially, and emotionally—and they remained impaired when tested several years later. Gray rats have shown negative chemical changes when the environment was dull. Children raised in an orphanage or without individual attention have often become less intelligent with each succeeding year in the limiting environment. Research data on census statistics (1960) indicate that in the state where education is near its nadir, 54.6 percent of the Selective Service registrants fail the mental tests. This is in contrast to Utah where only 4.7 percent fail and where education is more generally available and valued.

At all intellectual levels positive changes occur and can be induced to occur when experiences are appropriate and evocative. In his book, *Intelligence and Experience*, J. McV. Hunt[11] reviews much of the research relating to the development of intelligence. He goes back to the nature versus nurture studies of the 1930's. At that time the influence of environment was often discounted, yet these early studies have much to tell us. For example, Dr. Hunt reports a study of two baby girls, about a year old, who had IQ's below 50. With such great retardation, their case seemed hopeless and they were transferred directly into a home for the mentally handicapped. The sequel was a great surprise. Both the aides and the older girl inmates found the children delightful and made a great deal of fuss over them. The girls were played with, talked to, given books, and shown pictures. After a year of such experiences, both little girls tested within the normal ranges of intelligence. The other children who had been left behind in the orphanage because of higher initial intelligence made no such gains. In fact, many lost as much as 25 IQ points.

There are many situations that constrict more than the usual environment does, that supply less stimulation than the customary, and that are less than adequate. To allow for full psychological development, environment must be more than what was once called adequate. Children are often affected negatively by poor environments, situations which are bleak and unsavory or where the child remains a stranger and a nonparticipant. As a result some children are apathetic, seeming to suffer from intellectual anemia, others are defiant but unsure, and still others are riddled by fear. Studies repeatedly show the slower students to be less confident and more fearful. These unsure and troubled ones must find acceptance, a chance to satisfy unmet personal-social needs.

MOTIVATION AND SUCCESS IN SCHOOL

That these students apparently lack not only the intellectual skills but also the emotional security needed for school success creates a complex and difficult situation. But this is not a cause for total despair. If one considers Maslow's[12] "hierarchy of basic needs," the slow learner can be seen as suffering from a severe case of "deficiency motivation." According to Maslow, the basic human needs are food and shelter (physiological), safety, love (belongingness), esteem, and self-actualization. These are organized in the personality according to a prepotency principle—i.e., hunger must be *somewhat* satisfied before an individual will feel the need for safety, and he must feel relatively safe before he will reach out for the love of others. The need for self-actualization usually arises when all less prepotent needs have been sufficiently met. At this point the individual is considered to be "growth motivated" rather than "deficiency motivated"—that is, rather than being motivated by the need to obtain the acceptance and recognition of others, he feels the need to actualize all the potentialities latent in or apparent to him. And this, of course, is what every educator wants every student to do—take responsibility for his own learning.

Much of what the schools do to and for the slow learner tends to keep him in a state of "deficiency motivation." Maslow feels that this child must be respected as much as the healthy one, so far as the growth process is concerned. Only when his fears are accepted respectfully can he dare to be bold. We must understand that the dark forces are as "normal" as the growth forces.

> This is a ticklish task, for it implies simultaneously that we know what is best for him (since we do beckon him on in a direction we choose), and also that only he knows what is best for himself in the

> long run. This means that we must *offer* only, and rarely force. We must be quite ready, not only to beckon forward, but to respect retreat, to lick wounds, to recover strength, to look over the situation from a safe vantage point, or even to regress to a previous mastery or a "lower" delight, so that courage for growth can be regained [13]

Teachers and other students often seem to be unaware of, to overlook, or to resent these students. In a grouping experiment in the Lansing public schools [14] one of the disadvantaged slow learners (70 percent of this group were lower class) wrote about a class in which he seemed to be vegetating, "The teacher didn't gripe at me. She don't pay any attention to me either. So I sleep or look at a magazine. My other classes. They don't care about me either. So I sleep all hours in peace." This boy was not hungry and he had a place to sleep (obviously), but he was neither recognized nor successful as a student, the role that our schools feature.

Intelligence can be positively modified and need motivation can become growth motivation if experience is appropriate and rewarding. Education should supply models, patterns, and possibilities. It is difficult to become what we do not know. Aldous Huxley has stated—

> The native or genetic capacities of today's bright city child are not better than the native capacities of a bright child born into a family of Upper Paleolithic cave dwellers. But whereas the contemporary bright baby may grow up to become almost anything—a Presbyterian engineer, for example, a piano-playing Marxist, a professor of biochemistry who is a mystical agnostic and likes to paint in water colors—the Paleolithic baby could not possibly have grown into anything except a hunter or food gatherer, using the crudest of stone tools and thinking about his narrow world of trees and swamps in terms of some hazy system of magic . . . (the adults) are dissimilar because in one of them very few, and in the other a good many, of the baby's inborn potentialities have been actualized . . . what we have is so rich and so various that to make the best of it, to make actual the native potentialities of all of the many breeds of men and women, will keep us busy for centuries to come.[15]

A child cannot like Frederick Chopin or Leonard Bernstein if he has never heard him. Young people need to meet contemporary heroes and role models beyond the baseball prima donna and the heroine of the wide screen.

They need to discover how others work and live. As educators we must demonstrate that being the driver of a school bus can be rewarding—and even at times compelling—if you have pride in your work, and that being a good citizen is possible on less than $10,000 a year. The society may be corrupt[16] at all strata but many have not been infected, and lesions can be healed. The young must meet the healthy, mature "man for all seasons" such as the Negro custodian, Douglas William Johnson,[17] rather than just "men of the hour"—the football hero whose game may be rigged.

The adolescent of today, and especially the one who has trouble in school, is confused as to his possible role in the world and as to what the world might offer. Living, as he does, in a quite unsatisfactory life context, he is unaware of many possibilities. Films,[18] film clips, and TV offer excellent ways of introducing adults who could "make a difference" to these students. Biographies can also transport students into other worlds, other lives. However, audiovisual approaches may be particularly effective with the students who find reading difficult. And of course one effective and direct way to reach young people, but one that is often difficult to arrange, is to bring people with this quality of spirit into the classroom.

IMPORTANCE OF GROUP COMPOSITION ON THE INDIVIDUAL

Students not only change under the impact of an admired adult, but group composition also can have great influence, particularly on emotional and social well-being. At the adult level, Strodtbeck[19] has found that laborers on a jury—which also has, as a member, a foreman—will tend to make the latter chairman and often participate very little themselves. Recently animal experiments have contributed further to our knowledge of the effects of group members on one another. Denenberg[20] reports that emotionally disturbed baby rats cower in the corner, more withdrawn than ever, when placed in a group situation with normal or adjusted baby rats—the maladjusted and adjusted become more different rather than more similar as a result of such heterogeneous grouping.

In the grouping experiment[21] referred to above, in which the writer studied approximately 600 ninth-graders, slow learners fared better in emotional and social terms when placed in homogeneous remedial sections than did a matched group left in regular heterogeneous classes where all levels of ability were represented. These slow students in the homogeneous groups were given books they could read, were encouraged to work on topics that held strong interest for them, and were placed in groups small enough (15 or 20 students) so that they could get individual help. In a setting where neither the students nor the teacher continually compared the slow with average and superior students, there was an increase in teacher acceptance, peer acceptance, and self-acceptance. Teachers rated slow students in these special homogeneous groups as almost "average" (on a scale that compared them with other adolescents on personality and intellectual qualities) and even marked them this way. They received "C" grades in comparison to the "D−" grades given by the same teacher to the control group of slow students who were in regular classes. For the first time in their school experience, slow students in the special classes were chosen by other students for leadership roles in social events and in the classroom. And they rated themselves as being as-good-as-average school learners, an equally rare phenomenon. They felt "in," "accepted," "valued for themselves."

The less able need reassurance and acceptance but they also need stimulation. There may not be enough coming from within. An appropriate climate achieves a fine balance between the soothing and the exciting, the familiar and the new. Some students need and seek more of one ingredient than the other and the teacher must sense these individual needs. As someone once said, she must "agitate the comfortable and comfort the agitated."

The teachers in the grouping experiment made every effort to find appealing materials. The slow were not asked simply to go "slow in the hard books"—although some did just this when motivation to read was great—but were given materials especially interesting to pupils who usually do not do well in school. They used *Popular Mechanics*, *Teen-Age Tales*, special editions of the *Reader's Digest*, and hot rod publications. Although standardized achievement tests which measured amount of grammar learned and spelling proficiency showed no clear differences between the heterogeneous and homogeneous classes, slow readers in the homogeneous remedial sections nearly all engaged in discussions and talked well and frequently—five or six times per period on the average. This was not true with equally retarded students in regular classes. In this situation they spoke rarely, less than one-half time per student per period.

Their speech was usually confined to such exchanges as the teacher saying, "Do you know?" and the student replying, "Uh-uh." In interviews which followed one student explained the situation, "I sit next to someone who talks smart. I can't talk smart, so I don't talk."

Slow students characteristically talk better than they read, write, or spell but they rarely will or can perform in this area of skill unless the setting is right. They are easily overwhelmed by the erudition and fluency of other teenagers and they often find the teacher's speech hard to follow. Fortunately, good teachers are flexible. The eight who participated in the grouping study appropriately varied their language patterns in each homogeneous class—superior, average, and slow—so that they spoke just slightly above the student level. With the slow, the teachers' speech pattern emerged in short sentences and vocabulary was kept simple and concrete. However, these same teachers spoke at a much more difficult level in the usual heterogeneous classroom situation. In fact, since the gifted dominated in these classes, discussions were usually at a relatively difficult level and gave the slow student ample reasons for commenting on the "smart talk."

Students did not feel accepted or involved when class discussions were "over their heads" and they certainly derived few feelings of success as nonparticipants. The slow students who remained in the heterogeneous classes were significantly lower on the "concept-of-self-as-school-learner" than were those in the special remedial sections. In these classes teachers found it difficult to take time away from 30 others to give retarded readers the special help they needed as they struggled to "sound out" words and write simple sentences. In the remedial classes slow students appreciated this help and asked for it continually. However, the feature of the "special help" that the slow mentioned liking best of all was not the "tutoring," not the interesting books, not the chance to talk, but instead it was having "a chance to learn with people you lik and who lik you." As one boy said when asked what he liked best, "It's the Teacher and her atitud tward the class, also the clases atitud twards her."

Again and again in work with slow learners and other deficiency motivated people this need for personal contact and for recognition by another human being is shown. Programed materials can undoubtedly help to individualize instruction but the Black Box cannot supplant the human dimensions.

UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE—NEED FOR RECIPROCITY

Rogers[22] has found that the unconditional acceptance is of paramount importance in both counseling and teaching situations. As Emerson said—everyone needs a promoter. The student must know that he is worth making an investment in, that he is being listened to and valued. This would imply that we need more, not less, of the feminine dimensions (compassion and aesthetic sensitivity) in education. All but one of the eight Lansing teachers were women and their slow students, mainly boys, were devoted to them. However, men with these qualities can also supply the acceptance the students so desperately want and the model for compassionate, civilized adult behavior they so badly need. As Goethe commented, "we only learn through those we love." Arthur Miller[23] noted recently that marriage (an experience involving both feminine and love dimensions) is the only known cure for delinquency. Laubach in his highly successful "each one teach one" program, in which by his direct work or by his influence millions were taught to read, said that the whole point is to make each learner feel like a rajah.

Other studies make this dramatically clear. One girl writing about her experiences in the Quincy, Illinois, "Revised School Program,"[24] said:

> I think myself that this is really a good idea, because with this kind of thing you can learn and say and tell if your not a brain. You can express yourself more freely. You can feel more at ease and not have to feel dumb and feel real bad and embarassed in front of children who are real smart in almost all their studies and ideas. But most of all I think if you try your best and try to help the teacher get it in your head this isn't just a place to mess off and try to make it hard for her and everyone else, this would be a good place to start learning without just being passed on and on from one class to another getting dumber every year.

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The High School Dropout in Elementary School

Nadine Lambert

It is not uncommon for members of the mental health professions to discuss delinquents, dropouts, culturally deprived, emotionally disturbed, neurologically handicapped, and other etiologically defined groups of children who fail to succeed in school as if they were separate and distinct populations. There is then a need to determine to what extent these groups are distinct from the standpoint of the school. Are special programs needed or desirable for each specific category, or can youngsters with learning and behavior problems profit as a group from programs designed to attack the symptoms regardless of the etiology?

If education is to fulfill its commitment to all of its pupils, it must determine to what extent it should be concerned with these varieties of learning and behavior problems. Educators naturally hope that they are not responsible for all of the pupils who cannot succeed in school. The logical outcome of the pressures on the school to do a good job in education is the hope that only the willing and able should be the subject of classroom planning, not the unwilling and unable. The emotionally disturbed pupil is most frequently mentioned as one for whom some agency other than the school should have responsibility, because, by the fact of the label attached to him, he appears to have difficulties beyond the purview of education. The delinquent also, because he has gone beyond the pale of behavior acceptable to society, is designated as one for whom an agency other than education can and should provide services.

The diversity of youth problems goes even beyond the focus of the educator as he looks for means of coping with the great variety of individual differences within the high schools. The federal government, Congress, state and local legislative machinery are all involved in coping with some part of the immense problem of young people who cannot conform, who cannot work, and who cannot assume personal responsibility. Thus we have legislation proposed for the culturally disadvantaged in California; we have proposals to reintroduce a modern version of the old CCC; police and probation departments try a variety of techniques to get adolescents to face up to the realities of their lives and to take some responsibility for altering them; and some schools have special programs for pupils classified as emotionally disturbed or neurologically impaired.

Some old tunes are played frequently by us all. One is that early identification of problem-prone pupils is the answer. Another is that the middle class schools must find ways to understand the lower class population. Another yet is that parents must take part in the educational planning of their children. And, though this is not mentioned very often any more, there was a time when psychotherapy was the most commonly recommended procedure for a majority of these specific varieties of educationally handicapped pupils.

Los Angeles County in California, with a population exceeded by only six states in the United States, has more mental health workers and more services for citizens, including children, than any other comparable area in the nation. Still educators clamor that they have no help and that they cannot function unless some way is found to take the burden of childhood deviance away from their classroom worries as teachers and principals. There is a great need everywhere to gather the wealth of services in existence and to find some means of getting these services to cooperate in the most important undertaking facing our American way of life: To demonstrate that our belief in individualism will help develop better-functioning people, more responsible citizens, men and women who are able to find satisfaction in their employment, to be effective parents, and to enjoy their leisure hours.

This introduction would, perhaps, serve better as a conclusion to a paper on the syndrome of the high school dropout. Nevertheless it introduces the topic which I wish to present. My aim is to demonstrate that much of what we need to know about this problem is right at hand, but that in order to act we will need to give up some old jargon, take a good look at what we do know about children and schools, and then plan an attack on the problem which will utilize all of the care-taking agencies in our society.

Several years ago Eli M. Bower, then of the California State Department of Education, started out to discover in what ways pupils who were diagnosed as emotionally disturbed were different from other pupils in their classrooms. He and Carl Larson, also of the Department of Education, wrote to elementary school districts which had available child guidance clinics and asked them to participate in such a study. After receiving a number of replies, the researchers set about designing techniques which would determine those types of data readily available in classrooms which would distinguish pupils diagnosed as emotionally disturbed from their classmates. They designed a teacher rating, a peer rating, and a self-rating; set up a form for collecting data from the clinics in which the pupils were seen; and developed procedures for gathering data from the cumulative records of the pupils who had been diagnosed as emotionally disturbed. At the same time they collected data on all of these pupils' classmates. A listing of the results of that study [1] is given as follows:

1. Emotionally disturbed children scored significantly lower on group IQ tests. On psychological tests given individually, they approached the mean of all children included in the study.

2. The emotionally disturbed children scored significantly lower on reading and arithmetic achievement tests. The higher the school grade, the greater the differences between the emotionally disturbed children and others in the classes.

3. The emotionally disturbed children differed significantly from other children in class in self-perception as revealed by the self-rating instruments.

4. On peer rating procedures, the emotionally disturbed pupils were selected more often for hostile, inadequate, and negative roles and less often for positive roles.

5. The emotionally disturbed children came from homes which were not significantly different in socioeconomic level from those of other children generally.

6. Altogether 87 percent of the clinically known emotionally disturbed children were rated by their classroom teachers as among the most poorly adjusted children in the class. Nearly 61 percent of these were rated as being overly aggressive, or defiant most of the time, and 25 percent as overly withdrawn or timid quite often or most of the time. The teacher ratings indicated that 4.4 percent of all the children in the classes were overly aggressive or defiant most of the time, while 6.1 percent were overly withdrawn or timid most of the time. The discrepancy between this latter distribution of aggressive and withdrawn children compared with the distribution in the sample of known emotionally disturbed pupils could mean that a number of pupils in classes are not identified as yet as having difficulties.

This research demonstrated quite clearly that emotionally disturbed children could be identified early by the use of information ordinarily available to teachers, and also that many pupils with problems known to teachers are not being identified to school guidance offices.

FOLLOWING UP THE ELEMENTARY PUPILS

Very little longitudinal data are available on pupils who are identified as emotionally disturbed in the elementary grades. What happens to these pupils as they go along through school? Do they improve in their behavior? Do they get worse? Are referrals made to community agencies? Do they drop out of school or do they become delinquent?

A follow-up study of Bower's earlier work was designed primarily to determine the high school future of these elementary school pupils who had been clinically diagnosed as emotionally disturbed while in the fourth, fifth, or sixth grades. In order to compare the incidence of later problems of the known emotionally disturbed pupil with those of others in his class at the time he was identified, control groups were selected. In the spring of 1960, exactly five years after the collection of data for the study mentioned above, a follow-up study was made of a group of 50 of these pupils diagnosed earlier as emotionally disturbed.

The Sample

Two large school districts in Los Angeles County in Southern California were selected, and approximately 50 pupils were picked from the rosters of the 1955 experimental group. The larger school districts were selected because staffs were available with data recorded in central office files, so that collection of the information required would be most easily accomplished. Also, having the study centered in one county simplified the review of county agency records.

The original teacher ratings which included data not only on the emotionally disturbed population but also on the remainder of the pupils in the class were found in the storage room of the Department of Education. These ratings included IQ scores, achievement test results, absence rates, number of times tardy, and occupation of parents, in addition to a rating of pupil's behavior; a rating also had been completed for each pupil in each teacher's class. The teacher ratings of the emotionally disturbed group were located. In order to get control groups for comparative purposes, the records of two other types of pupils were selected from the stack of a single teacher's ratings: (a) All of those pupils who had been rated by the teacher as "one of the two most maladjusted pupils in my class," but not identified as "emotionally disturbed." (b) A random sample of two pupils from each class who had been rated by the teacher as "one with average or better adjustment."

The three different groups were given Roman numeral designations and were composed as follows:

> Group I. The *identified* emotionally disturbed pupil. These had been diagnosed as emotionally disturbed in 1955 on the basis of school guidance office and clinic studies.
>
> Group II. The *unidentified* poorly adjusted pupil. These students may or may not have been known to the school guidance offices, but were listed by teachers as "one of the two most maladjusted in my class."
>
> Group III. The *average* or *better adjusted* pupil control group. These students comprised a random sample of the school population attending school with Group I and Group II and were rated by teachers as having average or better school adjustment.

From a total of 39 classes the following distribution was obtained:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Group I	36	16	52
Group II	45	19	64
Group III	43	35	78

Procedure Used To Gather Follow-Up Data

In the five years which had passed, most pupils could be expected to be at some place in the high school sequence, although a few might be in junior high schools. Once the school assignment was determined for as many pupils as possible, individual cards were prepared for each office from which data on the pupils were to be collected. The information which was to be gathered from the schools was as follows:

1. For each pupil who was found to be in attendance a teacher rating was made and also for every other pupil in either his social studies class or English class. Teachers were asked to rate the entire class and were not told which pupils had been identified.

2. For each pupil who was in school a card was prepared for his grade counselor. On this card were recorded available cumulative folder data, referrals to health offices, vice-principals, clinics, to counselors for disciplinary or program change action, and any other data considered pertinent and available in the counselor's office. The counselors were told about the purpose of the study but were not informed of the assignment of any of the pupils to a sample group.

Information was gathered from school central offices for all pupils. From cumulative folders, the following data were obtained: latest group IQ scores, latest reading and arithmetic test scores, referrals made to school or special service agencies, status of family, and father's occupation. In addition, extensive data about referrals, specific problems, and follow-up work were obtained from health office, attendance and welfare, and guidance office files.

Most of the original emotionally disturbed sample had been seen in a school guidance clinic located within one of the districts.

A clinic card was made for each of the pupils. The clinic's social worker noted the referring problem, help given, i.e., testing, diagnosis or treatment, follow-up, and prognosis made at last contact. The original diagnostic summaries containing earlier test data, referring symptomatology, psychiatric diagnosis, and previous treatment record were also located for each of the pupils in Group I.

In addition to the school and the guidance clinic noted above, considerable effort was taken to obtain comparable data from community agencies. These agencies included the California State Department of Mental Hygiene, the public health department, the County Probation Department, and the California Youth Authority. The juvenile index in Los Angeles County, in which a central file of records of all juvenile contacts with police is maintained, was also surveyed.

The above procedure for collecting data was established in order to appraise information held in common by the various offices and to guarantee that no information was omitted if it was available somewhere. The data were collected, collated, and notations of each made on a master record of all pupils. It is from the total collection of data that the inferences about the high school status of the three project groups were determined.

Results

A. Proportion of graduates, delinquents, dropouts, and transfers

Table 1 gives the picture of Groups I, II, and III five years after they were identified in elementary school. A striking feature about the records presented is the extent of delinquency and dropouts in both Groups I and II; however, the total percentage of pupils in juvenile index, probation, and Youth Authority categories is even more striking.

The dropout ratios are somewhat more difficult to estimate, partly because a careful record of what happens when a pupil fails to show up for school after summer vacation is not kept. The known dropout category are those for whom the school counselor's or principal's office had records. The "will drop out" category are those whose counselors predicted that they would not last through high school. The counselor's prediction is supported by a review of the cumulative records available on this category. The semester grades for this group are significantly below par and the earned grade points average well below "C."

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF DROPOUTS, TRANSFERS, DELINQUENTS, GUIDANCE AND CLINIC REFERRALS, AND PUPILS WITH UNKNOWN STATUS

	Group I			Group II			Group III		
Follow-up category	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Total sample	36	16	52	45	19	64	43	35	78
Number who will graduate	8	10	18 (35%)	16	8	24 (38%)	25	18	43 (55%)
Transfer	10	2	12 (23%)	9	4	13 (20%)	6	6	12 (15%)
Dropouts	7	0	7 (13%)	8	1	9 (14%)	2	3	5 (6%)
Will drop out	6	1	7 (13%)	4	1	5 (8%)	1	2	3 (4%)
Juvenile Index	6	0	6 (6%)	9	0	9 (11%)	2	0	2 (9%)
Probation	6	0	6 (12%)	9	0	9 (14%)	2	0	2 (3%)
Youth Authority	2	0	2 (4%)	3	1	4 (6%)	0	1	1 (1%)
Unknown (left school, no transfer)	1	2	3 (6%)	2	2	4 (6%)	5	3	8 (10%)
Unknown (school records lost)	0	1	1 (2%)	5	2	7 (11%)	3	3	6 (8%)
Referred to school guidance office	32	14	46 (90%)	18	5	23 (36%)	3	0	3 (4%)
Seen in guidance clinic or privately by mental health worker	24	9	33 (64%)	1	0	1 (2%)	1	0	1 (1%)

Key:

Group I—Identified, emotionally disturbed pupils

Group II—Unidentified, poorly adjusted pupils

Group III—Average or better adjusted pupils, control group

The "unknown" categories present a real interpretation problem, for these pupils may be those who transferred to other school districts where the new school failed to write for transfer records, or they may be ones who simply left school and whom the school made no effort to locate. Many of the "unknown" represent lost school records. The problem comes when one has to decide whether or not the unknowns represent school dropouts. If the unknows are considered as dropouts and added to the "dropout" and "will dropout" categories, the percentages thus obtained are 34 percent in Group I, 39 percent in Group II, and 28 percent in Group III. This contrasts sharply with the figures for the first two dropout categories, taken alone: 26 percent, 22 percent, and 10 percent, respectively.

Although the delinquent and the dropout groups overlap somewhat, they are tallied as separate categories for purposes of this study. A careful comparison of records for these pupils shows that often the school does not know a pupil is on probation or even committed to a Youth Authority facility. Also in the case of some unknowns and some transfers, the pupil is on probation and presumably not in school. The lack of collaborative information on these pupils may be one explanation for the difficulties in working effectively toward some amelioration of the problem.

The proportion of pupils who can be accounted for, who are neither dropouts nor delinquent, who are expected to graduate from high school, 35 percent in Group I, 38 percent in Group II, and 55 percent in Group III, indicates poor holding power of high schools combined with incomplete information on what happens to students as they progress through the grades. If one prorates the "transfers" on the basis of the base rates for graduation in each group, the estimated percents of those pupils who will graduate are 43 percent for Group I, 42 percent for Group II, and 63 percent for Group III.

B. Differences between dropouts, delinquents, and graduates on the basis of teacher judgment of school adjustment in elementary school

For purposes of this comparison, Groups I, II, and III have been divided into three categories—dropouts, delinquents, and graduates. The dropout category includes the dropout, will drop out, and unknown subdivisions; the delinquent category, the juvenile index, probation, and Youth Authority subdivisions; the graduate category does not include transfers.

In order to determine the behavior characteristics of these different groups of pupils, an examination was made of the original teacher ratings on aggressiveness, withdrawn behavior, control problems, and instructional problems for all the pupils in Groups I, II, and III. It is important to remember that Groups I, II, and III were different from the start in terms of teacher judgment of school adjustment status. The pupils in Group I had been identified by the teacher as having problems serious enough to be referred to the school psychologist, who in turn referred most of them to the local child guidance clinic. These pupils can be considered seriously maladjusted, with a variety of learning and behavior problems in the fourth, fifth, or sixth grade.

The pupils in Group II were also identified by the teachers as having serious adjustment problems, but at the time of the 1955 study their teachers had not referred them to the school psychologist. The proportion who was referred to the school guidance office at some time subsequent to the 1955 study can be found in Table 1. Nevertheless, only one pupil in Group II had ever been seen in the local child guidance clinic between 1955 and 1960. Group II pupils, then, are ones who have serious learning and behavior problems but who, for one reason or another, were not typically referred for help and who had not, in turn, even at a later date, been referred to child guidance clinics. Group II probably represents that large proportion of pupils with school difficulties who are perceived to be in transient states of adjustment and who manifest at one or another period in their school lives problems which are not considered serious enough for action.

Group III represents pupils who are doing pretty well in school from the standpoint of teacher appraisal of their adjustment. Their problems, if they have any, have not yet been identified by the teacher or are ones which are not of direct concern to the educational process. They are the well-adjusted group who can be considered typical of those who can manage school with some ease and progress from grade to grade without event.

Analysis of the distribution of teacher ratings of each of these groups bears out the assumption of differences in behavior and learning problems among these groups in terms of teachers' judgment of the types of behavior mentioned above. Group I has the most negative ratings, with Group II following close behind. Further examination of the three categories within each group showed that the graduate category tends to be the one with less negative ratings; teachers observed timid and withdrawn behavior by the dropout and delinquent less often than they did aggressive and acting-out behavior. Dropouts and delinquents were rated by their teachers as having more difficulties than their classmates who will graduate from high school, even though the latter group had a comparable adjustment status.

C. Differences between dropouts, delinquents, and graduates on the basis of father's occupation, IQ, and achievement

Similar comparisons were made for occupational status of father, most recent intelligence test scores, and achievement in elementary school.

We find that in Groups II and III the occupational categories of the fathers for the delinquent and dropout groups were notably lower than those of the graduation group. Fathers of the dropouts and delinquents tend to come from the skilled laboring classes or from lower socioeconomic levels. The picture for Group I is somewhat different, where at least two fathers were in the professional and managerial classes. Earlier in this paper, it was noted that the 1955 study indicated that fathers of the known emotionally disturbed population in the elementary school came from an equivalent distribution of occupational categories when compared to the California sample. One inference here is that those in the group identified as having serious learning and behavior difficulties, referred to child guidance clinics and taken there by their parents, may be more representative of the general population in terms of occupational status. This indicates a selective factor in clinic cases which would not be true of the emotionally disturbed population in elementary school if they were identified on the basis of identifiable problems, not on the basis of referrals to child guidance clinics.

The level of intelligence also indicates that the dropouts and delinquents tend to have little capacity for school success. As shown in Table 2, estimates of scholastic aptitude for only a few pupils are above the average level. Therefore, along with lower socioeconomic status (and the inference of minimal investment in the importance of education as it is now provided in our schools), the picture of the dropout and delinquent is complicated by marginal capacity for school achievement—supposing their motivation were comparable to that of other more successful pupils. There is undoubtedly a good deal of interaction between lower socioeconomic status and lower intelligence test level. Possibly these two variables simply go hand in hand, or else the cultural endowment of the lower socioeconomic groups may handicap them on typical tests of scholastic aptitude. Only

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF IQ SCORES WITH TEACHER'S JUDGMENTS
of Adjustment Status in Elementary School
and Later School Dropout Status

IQ Score	Below 70	71-80	81-90	91-100	Average	101-110	111-120	121-130	Over 130	Total Number
Group I										
Dropouts										
drop out	—	—	2	2		1	—	1	—	6
will drop out	1	1	4	1		—	—	—	—	7
unknown*	—	—	—	—		2	—	—	—	2
Delinquents										
juvenile index	—	—	—	1		1	1	—	—	3
probation	—	1	1	3		—	—	—	—	5
adult or youth authority	—	—	—	1		—	—	1	—	2
Graduates	1	1	5	5		1	2	3	—	18
Total number with data	2	3	12	13	(70%) (30%)	5	3	5	—	43
Group II										
Dropouts										
drop out	1	—	4	1		2	—	—	—	8
will drop out	—	—	1	1		2	2	—	—	6
unknown*	—	2	1	1		—	—	—	—	4
Delinquents										
juvenile index	1	1	1	—		1	—	—	1	5
probation	—	2	3	2		1	1	—	—	9
adult or youth authority	—	—	3	1		—	—	—	—	4
Graduates	1	4	4	5		1	6	1	2	24
Total number with data	3	9	17	11	(68%) (32%)	7	9	1	3	60

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF IQ SCORES WITH TEACHER'S JUDGMENTS
of Adjustment Status in Elementary School
and Later School Dropout Status (Continued)

IQ Score	Below 70	71-80	81-90	91-100	Average	101-110	111-120	121-130	Over 130	Total Number
Group III										
Dropouts										
drop out	—	1	1	1		1	—	1	—	5
will drop out	—	—	1	2		—	—	—	—	3
unknown*	—	—	1	4		2	1	—	—	8
Delinquents										
juvenile index	—	—	—	2		2	3	—	—	7
probation	—	—	—	—		2	—	—	—	2
adult or youth authority	—	—	—	1		—	—	—	—	1
Graduates	—	—	4	10		10	14	4	2	44
Total number with data	—	1	7	20 (40%)		(60%) 17	18	5	2	70

* Includes all cases on whom no follow-up data could be found.

Key:
Group I—Identified, emotionally disturbed pupils
Group II—Unidentified, poorly adjusted pupils
Group III—Average or better adjusted pupils, control group

remedial help and comparison of scores on routinely administered tests can determine to what extent the deficit in intellectual ability is the result of native endowment or of experience.

The one factor that most distinguishes the dropout and the delinquent is that their school achievements are so markedly below par. Compared with the prospective graduates in Group I, all of whom are having difficulties in school, the dropout and delinquent are not too different; but compared with grade level performance, their work in school as measured by tests at the elementary level indicates that many of them have made only the barest progress in school learning. At the fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade levels, these pupils can be predicted to have undistinguished high school careers at best.

Even though the achievement status of elementary school pupils is contained in the records which accompany the pupil from elementary through junior high to high school, it is the experience of the writer that the full impact of such low scores is difficult to communicate. Part of the difficulty comes from the use of grade placement categories on elementary level achievement tests. The high school reviews a record which indicates that a sixth-grade pupil's achievement is at third-grade level and logically expects that third-grade reading material is the most appropriate. To demonstrate the inaccuracy of this assumption, the writer once administered a newly developed test of primary reading achievement to all eighth-grade pupils who were in the lowest 10 percent of the school population in the distribution of reading achievement scores. The results demonstrated that most of these pupils could not do well enough on the primary reading test to achieve scores equivalent to third-grade norms. In other words, even though grade placements on achievement tests given them in the eighth grade were at the fifth grade or higher (the lowest grade placements that the test norms provided), these pupils could not read at a level equivalent to third-grade performance as measured by primary reading tests. Percentile ranks of 10 percentile or lower would have been a much more realistic score to transfer to the high school. In addition, it is important to make these achievement scores as concrete as possible for the high school curriculum office. The actual performance of pupils at the 10 percentile level must be demonstrated in such a way that the high school remedial programs will begin at the actual achievement level of the pupil to assist him, and not assume that he should be able to do work of fifth grade or some other level without verification.

For many dropouts and delinquents the problem is often one of finding programs where they can have some hope of success without invidious comparisons of grade level or age performance. Most often, in the case of pupils in Group I especially and no doubt also in Group II, deplorable school achievement is complicated by behavior, attitudes, and resistance to learning which hardly can be expected to motivate a teacher to find ways to reach them. Something more than remedial programs is needed for most dropouts and delinquents.

D. Differences in the symptomatology of the graduate, dropout, and delinquent groups.

Psychiatric reports were available for a fairly large proportion of the pupils in Group I. These were written in 1955 by the clinic or mental health worker who had had contact with the pupil. The psychiatric reports were divided into three previously described groups—pupils who are expected to graduate from high school, pupils who will drop out, and those who are delinquent. Next, each case was reviewed and all the symptoms which were noted by the mental health worker were listed. The purpose of this procedure was to list all the types of behavior which had been noted by the clinic and then to see what differences there were between the three types of pupils. The results can be found in Table 3.

The symptoms which appeared to be common to all three groups are listed in one section; those which were not common to the three groups, even though they might have been found in pupils in two of the three groups, are noted in another section of the table. The striking thing about the latter group of symptoms is that no examples of lying, stealing, overtly hostile or aggressive behavior were noted in the diagnosed emotionally disturbed pupils in Group I who later will graduate from high school. The graduation group appears to be made up of dependent, withdrawn pupils with neurotic behavior not particularly manifested in outward hostility. On the other hand, the behavior of Group I pupils who will be the dropouts and delinquents is marked by hostility, overt acts against other pupils and adults, and serious acting-out behavior.

The differences between these groups indicate that teachers observed timid and withdrawn behavior for the dropout and delinquent less often than aggressive and acting-out behavior. The same comparison was not nearly as dramatic in the rating of behavior by the teachers as this list of actual symptoms of problem behavior. A review of the psychiatric reports on these pupils in Group I found no prediction of delinquency or school dropout. These youngsters were evidently seen simply as emotionally disturbed pupils with school problems.

E. School characteristics of pupils in each of the samples who are still in school in junior or senior high school

The *Behavior Rating of Pupils*[2] was supplied to all teachers of the English or social studies classes in which the project pupils were enrolled. The teacher's job was to rate each of the pupils in the class on a number of behavior traits which had been shown in previous studies to be predictive of learning and behavior problems manifest in school adjustment difficulties.

TABLE 3

SYMPTOMS NOTED IN CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

of Referred Emotionally Disturbed Elementary School Children
Who Will Graduate from High School,
Become Delinquent, or Drop Out

Those who will graduate from high school	Dropouts	Delinquents
Symptoms common to three groups:		
cruel to children	immature	belligerent
restless in class	short attention span	harmful to peers
daydreaming	low achievement	restless
low achievement	distractible	poor attention
immature	temper tantrums	poor in learning
shy	poor social adaptability	enuresis
enuretic	interpersonal problems	nonconformity
temper outbursts	daydreaming	temper tantrums
nonconformity	belligerent	immature
openly resentful	shyness	short attention span
spasmodic attention		disruptive group behavior: talks out, grabs, hits, punches, name calling
shuffles feet in class		
Symptoms not necessarily common to three groups:		
cannot make friends	anxious	hostile
cries easily	impulsive	exposes genitals
speech problems	hostile	lies
stutters	nervous	steals
social maladjustment	defiant of school authorities	insolent
poor personal habits	aggressive	aggressive
nail biting	petty thefts	constant trouble
nightmares	steals	mischievous
emotionally unstable	destructive	violent rages
asthmatic	acting out	emotionally unstable
runs away from problems	destructive to own property	outbursts of anger
caresses other children	limited self-control	upsets classroom
peer problems	fearful	anxious
inability to adjust to school	withdraws	impulsive
will not volunteer in class	authority problems	nervous
disinterested	explosive behavior	
will do only easiest work	antisocial behavior	
will participate only when asked	vulgar language	
	negativistic	
eye tics	cannot take correction	
overreacts to teasing	cannot face difficulties	
attention-getting behavior	self-deprecating	
obesity		
hypersensitive		
refuses to attend school		
cannot leave mother		
unhappy and lonely		
voids in class		
contrariness to mother		
erratic behavior		
unaware		
defeatism		

The nine rating items are:

1. Pupils who get into fights or quarrels with other pupils
2. Pupils who have to be coaxed or forced to work with other pupils
3. Pupils who have difficulty learning
4. Pupils who make unusual or inappropriate responses during normal school activities
5. Pupils who behave in ways which are dangerous to self and others
6. Pupils who are often unhappy or depressed
7. Pupils who become sick when faced with a difficult school problem or situation
8. Teacher's over-all rating of intellectual potential
9. Teacher's over-all rating of school adjustment.

An analysis was made of the frequencies of each rating assigned to the pupils in either Group I, II, or III. The boys will be discussed first. Differences between Group I and Group II are insignificant except for two items showing that Group I has lower scholastic potential and achievement. Comparison between Group I and Group III shows that boys in Group I are rated more frequently as those who (a) have to be coaxed or forced to work with other pupils, (b) have difficulty learning, (c) are often unhappy or depressed, (d) have lower intellectual potential, and (e) have lower than average emotional adjustment as observed by the classroom teacher. (These comparisons substantially support the assumption made in the previous section that pupils with emotional problems evident in learning and behavior problems showing up in the elementary grades and who do not drop out of school or become delinquent tend to be withdrawn, passive, and dependent rather than acting out, hostile, and egregious.)

Comparison between Group II and Group III indicates that boys in Group II are significantly different from their peers in terms of being more often those who (a) have to be coaxed or forced to work with other pupils, (b) have difficulty learning, (c) are often unhappy or depressed, and (d) have lower than average emotional adjustment. They are not seen as different from the pupils in Group III in terms of intellectual potential, but they are ones who the teachers feel often make unusual or inappropriate responses in the classroom. Even though Group II boys appear more capable in the eyes of the teachers than Group I pupils, they achieve less well than peers in classroom learning activities.

Some useful data were obtained for the sample of girls. Group I girls were more often seen as getting into fights or quarrels with other pupils when compared to girls in Groups II and III. On the other hand, girls in Group II were noted by teachers as getting upset or sick when faced with a difficult school situation more often than girls in Group I or III. Such comparisons suggest possible differences in behavior characteristics between boys and girls with school problems.

A review of the cards returned from the counselor's office for all of the pupils in Groups I, II, and III, as well as a check on each pupil's cumulative folder, provided additional data on the present school adjustment of the project samples. Table 4 indicates the proportions of pupils in each of the categories which were evaluated and the significance of the differences in the proportions on the basis of chi-square values.

The inference from these data is that the Group I pupils who are still in school will do more poorly in terms of assigned grades; have more program changes, indicating difficulties in classroom adjustment; and have more absences. The Group II sample get better grades, have a significant number of program changes, and are frequently absent from school but to a lesser degree than the Group I sample.

No pupils in any of the samples were found in state hospitals for the mentally retarded or mentally ill. No records were found in public health departments either. School referrals for special services provide some additional data on which to compare the samples. Table 5 provides the rates of referrals to the school health office, the school guidance office, and to the child welfare and attendance worker during one school year. Evidently the pupils in Group I have a greater number of health problems since they were more frequently referred to the school health office for illness, rest, accidents, or discomfort. Both pupils in Groups I and II received assistance from the school guidance office subsequent to 1955 more frequently than their peers. In addition, pupils in both Groups I and II required home calls by the child welfare and attendance worker to check on absences from school to a greater degree than the pupils in Group III.

TABLE 4

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT IN THE 1959-60 SCHOOL YEAR

of Those Pupils in Groups I, II, and III
Still in School

Basis of evaluation	Percent Group		Sig. Level	Percent Group		Sig. Level	Percent Group		Sig. Level
	I	III		II	III		I	II	
1. Final grades (C average or better)	30	70	.01	67	70	NS	30	67	.01
2. Referrals to vice-principal (1 to 14 referrals)	50	17	.01	43	17	.01	50	43	NS
3. Referrals to school counselor (1 to 20 referrals)	64	63	NS	61	63	NS	64	61	NS
4. Number of program changes (1 to 8)	54	22	.01	36	22	.05	54	36	.05
5. Of those pupils remaining, percent that will graduate on the basis of counselor judgment	57	86	.01	63	86	.01	57	63	NS
6. Number of full-day excused absences (1 to more than 18)	82	67	.01	64	67	NS	82	64	.01
7. Number of full-day unexcused absences (1 to more than 9)	43	28	.05	21	28	NS	43	21	.01
8. Number of part-day excused absences (1 to 16 absences)	47	44	NS	61	44	.05	47	61	.05
9. Number of part-day unexcused absences (1 to 12 absences)	39	26	.05	36	26	NS	39	36	NS

Key:
NS—Not statistically significant
.01—Statistically significant at the 1% level of confidence } Using chi-square test
.05—Statistically significant at the 5% level of confidence } of significance

Group I—Identified, emotionally disturbed pupils
Group II—Unidentified, poorly adjusted pupils
Group III—Average or better adjusted pupils, control group

The extent of delinquency of the pupils in the three project groups has been indicated previously. Further examination shows that Groups I and II are apt to commit no less than two-thirds of all the violations when each is compared to the random sample Group III. This means that from the standpoint of contact with law enforcement agencies, youth comparable to those in Group I and Group II require a considerably greater amount

TABLE 5

IN-SCHOOL REFERRALS FOR SPECIAL SERVICES

of Those Pupils in Groups I, II, and III
Still in School

	Percent Group			Percent Group			Percent Group		
	I	III	Sig. Level	II	III	Sig. Level	I	II	Sig. Level
1. Referral to health office (nurse or doctor) during 1959-60 school year (1 to 11 referrals)	71	44	.01	47	44	NS	71	47	.01
2. Referral to school guidance office (anytime during the individual's school life)	67	4	.01	36	4	.01	67	36	.01
3. Referral to child welfare and attendance office	19	8	.05	21	8	.01	19	21	NS

Key:
NS—Not statistically significant
.01—Statistically significant at the 1% level of confidence } Using chi-square test
.05—Statistically significant at the 5% level of confidence } of significance

Group I—Identified, emotionally disturbed pupils
Group II—Unidentified, poorly adjusted pupils
Group III—Average or better adjusted pupils, control group

of attention from these officials than others with minimal school problems. The records of pupils in Groups I and II who are apprehended by the police contain about two entries on the average while the youth in Group III may have a single entry in police records, if they have any, and this is generally a minor violation.

In providing rates for the school dropout as well as delinquency rates for high school pupils, the fact is noted often that records for both categories are dependent on some overt act on the part of the adolescent. Either he leaves school and record is made of his departure, or he commits some crime and a record is made of that crime by responsible law enforcement agencies. Without either step—the departure from school or the act of committing some minor or major crime—the youngster remains in the larger body of unidentified youth. Some educators have termed those with similar dynamics and behavior characteristics who never become a statistic in the school dropout files, the "psychological" dropout. Some mental health workers[3] attempt to differentiate delinquency from juvenile crime or severe emotional disturbance. The problem of differentiation is not a simple one; indeed there is danger not only in hanging misleading labels on groups of children which provide researchers the satisfaction of locating a group for study, but also in ignoring the pressing needs of similar groups of pupils who do not provide enough suitable evidence to become classified.

Both the in-school and out-of-school groups involved in this study demonstrate that pupils in the elementary grades who are identified by the general terms of emotionally disturbed or emotionally handicapped are ones who will become concerns for the high schools. Interpretations of the various data presented above suggest that there should be no comfort in attaching a label to an easily identifiable group of pupils. All of the pupils in Groups I and II had similar educational needs. A general attack on their problems when they were first noticeable in the elementary grades, followed up in junior and senior high school, not only might have reduced the dropout and delinquency rates but also might have provided meaningful assistance to that group of youth who remain in high school but who require a disproportionate amount of time from school offices and faculty.

DISCUSSION

The school dropout does not exhibit a single behavior pattern. He manifests one or more of the following characteristics: low socioeconomic status, poor scholastic aptitude, limited school achievement, emotional problems in elementary school, difficulties with peers and parents, and resistance to help from existing guidance facilities. No dropout has all of the above characteristics in the extreme; however, he has more than one of them, and to the degree that different patterns emerge from his school records certain predictions can be made. For example, the pupils in Group III were seen by teachers as having fairly good school behavior in elementary school. While not all of them had good achievements or good scholastic aptitude, only a handful were referred to guidance offices and none were ever referred to clinics. Nevertheless, some of these pupils dropped out of school and a few became delinquent. Dropout status and delinquency for Group III pupils appear to be most clearly results of achievement, intelligence, and social status.

At the other extreme, pupils in Group I had serious difficulties in school, were diagnosed as emotionally disturbed, and referred for help. These pupils dropped out of school with frequency and many of them became delinquent. Their dropout status and delinquency are a result not only of achievement, intelligence, and social status; it appears that their behavior problems complicated their school situation to such an extent that more extensive help was necessary not only for the pupils but also for their teachers.

Those who experience the most difficulty in adjustment in the elementary school evidently are the ones who become delinquent earlier and drop out sooner. They need a program drawn in a broader perspective than simple remediation of learning difficulties or vocational counseling. Although some of these pupils had been referred to child guidance clinics for help, few of them received more than diagnostic reviews and one or two interviews. The referred pupils either openly refused or rejected the treatment offered or, accepting, often did not return at appointed times for treatment.

Education's part in the dropout problem or in the prevention of delinquency lies in the extent to which urgency is recognized in making modifications in the education program. The fact that schools contribute to the production of dropouts and delinquents cannot be denied. When curriculum and class work are beyond the capacities of the pupils, the schools present a series of experiences in which the child is bound to fail. This situation, compounded by poor social environment, maladapted behavior patterns, and feelings of inadequacy, leads to frustrations of school failure for such pupils.

This report should not be interpreted to mean that all pupils should be compelled to attend public school regardless of their behavior. Some pupils are too mentally ill to be in school; others may be found to be too delinquent to be in school. The data in this report are presented simply to reinforce the fact that out of general maladjustment as identified by teachers of elementary age pupils come the specific syndromes of youth failure in high school. Education cannot afford to split up its efforts by dealing with each of these separately identified groups at any level. The attack must be on the problem which all pupils with learning and behavior difficulties manifest—failure to manage the academic and social demands of the school program. Remedial education,[4] work experience programs,[5] special school programming with teacher consultation,[6] and early and regular contacts with school counselors at the time of entry to junior and senior high school accompanied by regular follow-up after the initial contact are some of the techniques which have been shown to be useful and preventive.

SUMMARY

The problem presented by the school dropout is one of alienation—alienation from peers, school, and society. As soon as one extreme of a continuum is defined, the other extreme must be located. In this case the continuum of behavior runs from alienation on the one hand to relatability on the other. Certain variables have been identified which determine a pupil's placement on this continuum. Among them are socioeconomic status, school ability, ability to achieve, health, interpersonal relationships, relationships to authority, intrafamilial experiences, and so forth. To the degree that these variables can be identified and measured, one is able to predict a person's place on the alienation-relatability continuum. School dropouts and delinquents are at the alienation extreme of the continuum and some of the extrapersonal and interpersonal variables which affect their status have been identified. In addition, it has been shown that these variables are noted early in the school lives of pupils who leave school, become delinquent, or who have problems in high school.

If the variables affecting adolescent maladjustment are identifiable in elementary schools, it then follows that modifying the variables should result in a change in the status of the pupil as an adolescent. Thus we can develop a statement for the preventive possibilities of educational programs in assisting pupils with potential or predicted problems before the problem has reached a chronic stage and is almost beyond assistance. Even though early identification is feasible and relatively simple, assistance must be given to pupils at the time when they are found in need of help. Primary prevention of the learning and behavior problems of school age youth focuses on removing some of the causes of the developing difficulty by altering the predictive variables in the life equation on the alienation-relatability continuum. Yet most counselors, in working with problem pupils, focus on the symptoms, a secondary prevention. In the former case, the school may be required to make the changes in order to assist the pupil; in the other case, the counselor may be trying to assist the pupil himself in making the change. Wherever one may begin, the pupil personnel worker, the curriculum, and the child are intimately locked together, and each unit must ultimately increase its effectiveness if these general programs in youth conservation are to work.

School dropout status and delinquency are two manifestations of a larger social problem—the inability of school and society to meet the needs of a large proportion of school age pupils. The importance of the comparative study presented herein is that at the elementary level vulnerable pupils have been lumped into a category called "emotionally disturbed" and that these pupils in secondary school comprise the groups referred to as dropouts, delinquents, discipline problems, and school failures, generally. The school dropout is not specifically a secondary school problem. We cannot afford to hope that things will get better, to feel relief once the child guidance clinic is in charge, or to abandon educational responsibility for the difficult pupil. Vulnerability in elementary school predicts greater vulnerability in high school and failure as an adult. The path of the vulnerable student from the elementary school on is not a level one; it is nearly always downhill.

Those of us in the mental health and guidance field could do well to examine our terminology and find new ways to describe vulnerable pupils for educational planning. This report should serve, at least, to show that to continue to use terms like emotionally disturbed, dropout, delinquent, and culturally deprived may distract and block total efforts to help all pupils with difficulties. The programs which typically are proposed to assist each of these vulnerable categories are comparable. What we need, apparently, is to look at the educational needs of the pupil, regardless of nomenclature, and to help him. The focus of the help will have to be on finding ways of assisting the pupil to cope with the demands of school and society, and not on basing the help on the diagnosis of the etiology of his problem. By improving achievement, a pupil's coping powers can also be improved. By finding ways of providing cultural experiences, the discrepancy between a pupil's outlook and that of the majority of the society in which he lives can be reduced and he can deal with social experiences more effectively. Self-understanding provides another means of assisting a pupil to cope with difficulties, but self-understanding in the absence of the means by which to succeed in school is an empty experience.

All of the changes cannot be expected from the pupil. Teachers need help in enhancing the influence of their professional selves in the teacher-pupil interaction process. Parents of the vulnerable pupil must be brought into the educational program. This can be accomplished best by establishing a collaborative relationship with parents through which their personal resources can be mobilized to assist the pupil and the school in the pupil's learning progress.

If one considers the goal of education to be just that—education—educators, pupil personnel staffs, and other allied mental health workers need to focus on working with the healthy, wholesome, nonneurotic parts of the pupil and his family. A principal theoretical frame of reference for assisting all vulnerable pupils is that by increasing the basic resourcefulness of the pupil, the maladaptive parts of his behavior will tend to become minimized in their importance as the pupil becomes more successful in utilizing his personality strengths to deal with life and school problems.

Lemkau[7] epitomizes this challenge as follows in his article, "What of the Unfit?"

> For our age, the choice lies between the optimistic view that unused capacity can be salvaged and the pessimistic one that "people are that way." In the absence of any irrefutable logic or final scientific proof to support either alternative, which way shall we go? Which attitude is better? The judgment is a moral one. It demands a creed . . .
>
> The creed today must take into consideration all men—not merely the successful, not merely the 93 percent who are employed, not merely—and this is the hardest part—those who show they want to contribute to society. The creed must embrace the idea of malleability of adult personality. It must lend support to the educational, social, and therapeutic changes and experiments that have been and are taking place.
>
> Perhaps, as the conservatives suggest, it is "unnatural" and unwarranted for a society to assume a paternal role towards its unproductive members. But what is "natural" in this world is seldom idyllic and frequently is harsh. I find it more to my ethical bent to take the view that mankind is likely to respond to education, guidance, and therapy as his social conditions improve and as skills in carrying out remedial efforts are extended. The state

has come to say man shall not fall below a certain standard of living. Is it more radical to say that he shall be helped to rise above that minimal level by enlightened attempts to improve his motivation?

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Vocational Development of High School Dropout

*Donald E. Super**

Although we have long been making studies of occupations, we have rarely made studies of careers.[1, 2] Despite the emphasis placed on the term *career* in much of the popular literature on vocational choice, the concepts and tools of vocational counselors are essentially those of occupational choice and prediction. We match men and jobs, in a static approach to organisms and situations which we know to be in fact dynamic.

The same point can be made, with almost equal validity, concerning studies of high school dropouts, for we have generally asked what kinds of jobs they get on leaving school, or in what kinds of jobs they are to be found some years after they have entered the labor market, but rarely do we ask whether dropouts remain dropouts, why some dropouts change their status, or what sequence of positions is typically occupied by dropouts as they increase in age and maturity. It may be true that once a dropout, always a dropout, but have we asked how often this is indeed true? To anticipate a bit, 26 percent of the freshmen who entered high school in one typical small Eastern city in the fall of 1951 were dropouts according to the NEA definition, but 10 years later, in the spring of 1962, only 15 percent were still dropouts. Behind such changes in status must lie a story; it behooves us to know the facts and the explanation thereof. Hence my interest in the vocational development of the dropout.

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LIFE STAGES AND CAREER PATTERNS

The concepts of life stages and career patterns, made familiar by Charlotte Buehler,[3] Davidson and Anderson,[4] and Miller and Form,[5] and applied particularly to vocational guidance by Ginzberg and associates[6] and in my work,[7, 1] are now well known. Exploratory behavior during the period of adolescence leads to establishment in young adulthood, and is followed by maintenance in full maturity. If the developmental tasks of adolescence are well done, the ensuing career is likely to be conventional or stable in its pattern; if they have not been coped with adequately, the career pattern is more likely to be unstable or characterized by multiple trials. Type of career pattern is related, we know, to parental socioeconomic status, to intelligence, and to educational attainment.

Knowing these well-established facts, it is easy to reconstruct the career pattern of the high school dropout, even though the sequences in his career have generally been disregarded in focusing on his occupational status at some one point in time. The dropout being typically of lower socioeconomic status, lesser intelligence, and by definition less well educated than the graduate, his career is likely to be unstable or multiple-trial. That is, after he leaves school he is likely to change jobs, field of work, and place of work a number of times and with no apparent rationale. Whereas the high school graduate or college student may enter at once a field of work and even a job in which he achieves stability, or may progress through a sequence of jobs like the rungs of a ladder and thus pursue a career in the conventional sense, the dropout's career consists of a sequence of unrelated positions. It lacks security, for the unskilled and semiskilled jobs which tend to be his[8] give him no opportunity to acquire skills and knowledge to make up for those he did not acquire in school, and the only equity which he can build up in a job or occupation is that of seniority. But seniority being difficult to acquire in many kinds of unskilled and semiskilled jobs, he acquires no equity and no security.

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY

In an attempt to examine the careers of a typical group of dropouts and graduates, I have, with the help of some colleagues, analyzed some of the work history data on one group of subjects of the Career Pattern Study, a longitudinal study of vocational development which began in Middletown, New York, in the school year 1951-52.[9]

Middletown, as we have reported in some detail elsewhere,[10] is a rather typical New York State and American small city. Although its population tends to be somewhat older and its gainfully employed include rather more women and somewhat fewer men, the census data for Middletown show that it resembles its state and the country as a whole. Thorndike's [11] earlier study of the goodness of small cities showed that it was an average city in this respect also, using an index of goodness which included death rates, per capita expenditure for teachers' salaries, average factory wage, and number of telephones.

In 1951-52, the freshman class in Middletown's only high school consisted of 142 boys who did not differ appreciably from other entering classes in adjacent years.[10] The mean Otis IQ was 102, the mean age was 14 years 4 months, their mean socioeconomic status was 4.50 on a 7-point scale on which 7 is low, and their emotional adjustment was normal according to the Rotter Incomplete Sentences Test. These boys were thus of average intelligence, lower middle class status, and normal adjustment, with (the standard deviations show) a normal range on each of these characteristics.

Follow-ups of these high school freshmen were made in 1954-55 when they were in the last year of high school—if they had dropped out, they were followed up in what would have been their senior year—again in the spring of 1958 when they were about 20 years old, and most recently in the spring of 1962 when they were about 25 years old. The first and latest follow-ups involved interviews, questionnaires, and tests; the second relied only on questionnaires. It is the latest which supplies us with data relevant to our present concerns.

STATUS IN 1962

Each of the original 142 subjects was traced, largely by means of an address list which was kept more or less up to date by annual Christmas cards and similar routine devices, but in some instances by inquiring personally of neighbors and by other such methods. Two subjects had died during the 10 years since the beginning of the study; the locations of all of the remaining 140 were ascertained. Of these, 131 have now been seen for one whole day of questionnaire completion, interviewing, and testing; this means that 93 percent of the original ninth-grade boys are completely accounted for. Of the nine who have not yet been tested and interviewed, one or two will yet be completed as they return from duty at remote bases in places such as Okinawa, and seven or eight will remain incomplete because of unwillingness to cooperate. But we will have data on the occupation and credit standing of all 140 subjects, 100 percent of them, 10 years after they entered high school and 7 years after most of them graduated. Therefore, except when broken down into small categories, our data permit us to generalize with much greater safety than do those of most such studies, despite the small numbers which are involved. Our nonrespondents are virtually nonexistent.

Educational Attainment

In Table 1 the data on graduation and dropping out are reported. It is noteworthy that 2 boys who dropped out of high school returned to graduate, bringing the number of boys graduating from Middletown High School within a year of schedule to 98, or 70 percent, and that 6 boys who transferred graduated elsewhere, bringing the total number of graduates to 104 and the percentage to 74. More important still is the fact that, of the 26 percent who dropped out of high school never to return, 15—or 45 percent of the dropouts and 11 percent of the total group—subsequently succeeded in obtaining high school equivalency diplomas.

This finding raises some important questions about the classification of those who leave high school as dropouts. Should we think of them as once and always dropouts? Or should we think of them, as is happening in so many cities now, as youngsters whose education has been interrupted? How can we help more such boys to see, and to see earlier than they now do, the advantages and the possibility of resuming their education? What methods can be used to facilitate, even more than now, the continuing education of the dropout? Continuing education is a reality for a substantial group of dropouts, and this reality can no doubt be improved and augmented. (Percent totals in the following tables do not always add to 100, due to rounding off of figures.)

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIDDLETOWN HIGH SCHOOL FRESHMEN

of 1951-52 Still Living in 1962

Graduated 1955 or 1956	Dropped out returned-grad.	Total graduates	Transfers graduates	Total grads. by 1957
96	2	98 70%	6	104 74%

Dropouts		Total diploma recipients by 1962	Total
Rec'd equ. dipl.	Nondiploma		
15 11%	22 15%	119 85%	140

Employment Status

In Table 2 are reported the employment statuses of the 140 Middletown freshmen of 1951-52, 10 years later, every individual in the original group being accounted for. Data are reported for the group as a whole and in later columns for those who graduated, for those who dropped out but later got equivalency diplomas, and for those who dropped out and had no diploma. The group which was not in the labor market consists largely of students, some of them late entrants into college (e.g., after military service), some of them graduate students. The percentages in the subgroups are not reliable, because of the small numbers involved, but have been calculated because they may be suggestive. More dropouts of both kinds are in the armed forces; more graduates are self-employed; more graduates are, as is to be expected, students; more dropouts work for others.

TABLE 2

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MIDDLETOWN HIGH SCHOOL FRESHMEN
of 1951-52 in the Spring of 1962

Status	Total		Graduates		Equ. Dipl.		Dropouts	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Employed by others	92	65	68	66	8	53	16	73
Self-employed	4	3	4	4	0	0	0	0
Job hunting	7	5	6	6	1	7	0	0
Not-in-labor-market	15	11	13	13	1	7	1	4
Military service	22	16	12	12	5	33	5	23
Total	140	100	103	101	15	100	22	100

Occupational Levels

Table 3 makes it clear that the graduates tend, as in all such studies, to be employed at higher occupational levels than do the dropouts. None of the graduates are in the higher-level professions, but those who are working for advanced degrees which might qualify them for such employment are still largely in graduate or professional schools, and they are still only in their mid-twenties. The apparent difference between dropouts who obtained equivalency diplomas and those who did not is surprising: It had been assumed that having an equivalency diploma would be a sign of greater drive, or of an awakening to the importance of education and to the need to advance, and that this group of dropouts would have risen to higher occupational levels than the other group. Such is not the case, at least in this small sample, in which the diploma group is largely at the two lowest occupational levels, whereas the nondiploma dropouts are largely at the two levels above the very lowest level. Perhaps the final story is not yet told, as there are seven other diploma recipients and eight other ordinary dropouts still not included in these data because they were not employed or had not yet been interviewed.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS

Freshmen of 1951-52 Interviewed
While Employed in 1962

Level	Total		Graduates		Equ. Dipl.		Dropouts	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Prof'l-Mgr'l (higher)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prof'l-Mgr'l (reg.)	6	6	6	8	—	—	—	—
Semi-Prof'l Mgr'l	24	26	23	32			1	7
Skilled	29	31	24	34	1	12.5	4	29
Semiskilled	26	28	13	18	5	62.5	8	57
Unskilled	8	9	5	7	2	25	1	7
Total	93	100	71	99	8	100	14	100

Occupational Fields

Table 4 reports the occupational fields of graduates and dropouts, using the Roe [12] classification. The graduates are employed largely in the fields of technology, business, and service, with some scattering elsewhere, and the dropouts of both types are concentrated largely in the field of technology. It should be remembered that in Roe's classification the field and level dimensions are independent and that Table 3 has brought out the low level of the dropouts' employment: their technological jobs are largely semiskilled, whereas in the case of the graduates they tend more to be skilled. Opportunities for dropouts are, at least in so far as this typical group of young men is concerned, more limited in type as well as in level than they are for high school graduates who also enter the labor market on leaving school.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS

Freshmen of 1951-52 Interviewed
While Employed in 1962

	Total		Graduates		Equ. Dipl.		Dropouts	
Field (Roe)	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Service	10	11	10	14	—	—	—	—
Business contact	11	12	10	14	—	—	1	7
Business organiz.	15	16	12	17	2	25	1	7
Technology	46	50	28	39	6	75	12	86
Outdoor	5	5	5	7	—	—	—	—
Science	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
General culture	5	5	5	7	—	—	—	—
Arts and entertain.					—	—	—	—
Total	93	100	71	99	8	100	14	100

Self-Estimated Occupational and Career Success

In Table 5, students have been excluded from the occupational ratings and nonrespondents are excluded from both sections of the table. In rating their own occupational success, subjects were asked to compare themselves with people about their own age in their own field of work, using a three-point scale; in rating their own career success, they were asked to rate progress toward their own goals. Although these goals were not defined in the question, the question itself was one of a sequence on the subject's career and on his evaluation of its various aspects. The questionnaires were individually administered by a Career Pattern Study staff member who had participated in the development and field trials of the questionnaire and interview procedures, and the tape-recorded interview which followed the questionnaires ensured that they were completely and meaningfully filled out.

It is made clear in Table 5 that there are no differences in the self-estimated occupational success of the graduates and

TABLE 5

SELF-RATED OCCUPATIONAL AND CAREER SUCCESS

Freshmen of 1951-52 in 1962

Occupational Success	Total		Graduates		Equ. Dipl.		Dropouts	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Above Average	31	27	22	26	4	29	5	29
Average	75	65	55	65	9	64	11	65
Below Average	10	8	8	9	1	7	1	6
Total	116	100	85	100	14	100	17	100
Career Success								
Above Average	54	43	44	45	4	29	6	40
Average	53	42	42	43	6	42	5	33
Below Average	19	15	11	11	4	29	4	27
Total	126	100	97	100	14	100	15	100

dropouts of either type. When it comes to career success, however, the graduates do seem to rate themselves somewhat more favorably than the dropouts of either type, and there is a slight, perhaps not significant, tendency for the dropouts who obtained equivalency diplomas to rate themselves less favorably than do the other dropouts. Perhaps it is this dissatisfaction with their handling of their careers which led the first group of dropouts to obtain equivalency diplomas. This dissatisfaction has not yet, at age 25, resulted in attaining higher levels of employment than those attained by the regular dropouts (in fact, Table 3 suggests the contrary); it will be important to see whether this increased and belated expenditure of effort leads them to surpass the regular dropouts after several more years. And it will be important, as data analysis proceeds, to identify variables which enable one to predict which dropouts may be motivated to put forth the belated effort represented by an equivalency diploma, if obtaining such a diploma turns out to be related to eventual attainment.

So far this analysis of Career Pattern Study data on one of our two samples of high school students has, like most dropout studies, been relatively static, comparing graduates and dropouts at one point in their careers. Let us turn now to the examination of career, as contrasted with occupational, data.

STATUS CHANGES OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS ENTERING LABOR MARKET

In order to study the mobility of graduates and dropouts after they entered the labor market, a sample of 33 graduates who went to work upon graduating from high school was drawn, together with another of 18 dropouts who also sought work after leaving school. These data have been analyzed in several ways to provide a more dynamic picture of the unfolding of the careers of graduates and dropouts.

Field of Employment

Table 6 reports the employment fields of graduates and dropouts entering the labor market after leaving high school, by two-year periods. (It should be noted that the first period is

TABLE 6

FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS

In Labor Market in Each of Four Periods
After School Leaving

Field	I. HS-1957		II. 1957-59		III. 1959-61		IV. 1961-62	
	Grad.	Drop.	Grad.	Drop.	Grad.	Drop.	Grad.	Drop.
Service	3%	5.5%	9%	11%	6%	5.5%	9%	
Business Contact	9	16.5	3	16.5	6	11	9	5.5%
Bus. Organization	6		12		21	5.5	9	11
Technology	64	61.5	33	44	40	44	45	61.5
Outdoor	18	16.5	12	11	3	28	6	
Arts & Entertain.							3	
Other Statuses								
Student			3		6			
Military			21	16.5	18	5.5	16	16.5
Ill or Unemployed			6				3	5.5
Total Percent	100	100	99	100	100	99.5	100	100
Total Number	33	18	33	18	33	18	33	18

longer than two years for the dropouts, who left school prior to June 1955, and that the fourth period is only one year in length for those who were interviewed on schedule in 1962.) The small numbers in any one category make the findings highly tentative, so that confirmation in our second sample will be important; however, they suggest that business contact occupations may attract more dropouts than graduates early in their working careers but attract more graduates than dropouts several years after they have left school, and that business organization and technology may (surprisingly) become relatively more dropout fields as both groups accumulate experience in the labor market, while the outdoor field loses men from both groups. Table 6 also suggests that dropouts who become full-time students tend to do so between two and four years after leaving high school, while those who do not enter military service immediately on leaving tend to do it after a lapse of from two to four or more years. The only puzzling finding here is the suggestion that technology loses high school graduates with time, while gaining dropouts: Are there implications here for in-service education or for induction programs, so that the educationally qualified may be held by what should be one of the most challenging fields?

Change of Employment

In Table 7 are shown the number of employment or field changes made by the sample of graduates and dropouts going directly from school to work or to the military service in each period from school leaving until 1962, together with the mean number of changes per person in each category. By change of employment status is meant change from work to military service or vice versa, from unemployment or illness to employment, from one of these statuses to that of student, or vice versa; by change of field of work is meant change of type of work in Roe's (1956) sense of field or focus of activity. Comparison of the mean number of moves therefore tells something about the stability of the early careers of the two types of dropouts and two types of graduates. During the first two years after high school (for the graduates, a longer time in varying amounts for dropouts) those who go directly into military service experience the most stability—understandably; there is no real difference in the stability of graduates and dropouts who enter the labor market at once, which seems rather surprising in view of the instability of the early years of work according to most evidence and in view of the presumably lessened employability of the dropout resulting from not being a high school graduate. During the second two-year period after high school there seem to be no differences in the mean number of moves, but during the third and fourth periods the graduates who went directly to work appear to be the most stable group, the dropouts who entered military service the least stable or most mobile. Let us note again that the moves dealt with here are changes of field, or of employment status, not of level which might be associated with advancement; movement is therefore probably instability. Finally, the last column in Table 7 brings out the fact that, taken as a whole, the post-high school years are a period of only moderate instability for both graduate and dropout groups, for both those who go directly to work and those who enter military service at once. The average number of moves per man is about three, over a period of about seven years, and being a dropout or a graduate is more a matter of how soon the changes of status or field are to be made than it is of how often one will probably move during this period of frequent floundering and trial.

TABLE 7

CHANGE OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS OR FIELD

of Graduates and Dropouts in Labor
Market by Periods

		I. HS-1957		II. 1957-59		III. 1959-61		IV. 1961-62			
	No.	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Grad. to work	33	25	.76	26	.79	26	.79	20	.60	97	2.90
Drop. to work	18	15	.83	13	.72	8	.44	9	.50	45	2.50
Grad. to milit.	21	1	.05	15	.71	31	1.40	10	.48	57	2.70
Drop. to milit.	10	2	.20	8	.80	13	1.30	40	.40	27	2.70
	82										

Level of Employment

In Table 8 are shown the work and military levels of the Middletown graduates and dropouts who went to work upon leaving school. The work level scale is Roe's [12] occupational level scale, Level 6 being the lowest (unskilled), Level 3 being semiprofessional and lower-level white-collar jobs. The military levels are comparable and are based on military grades. Again, the numbers are small in any one category, but there is a consistent trend from lower to higher levels from one time period to the next in the case of graduates, who in 1962 tend to be found at the skilled level (34 percent), whereas there is no such strong trend in the dropouts, who tend to be at the semiskilled level in 1962 (61.5 percent). The graduates appear better able to work their way from the unskilled and semiskilled levels at which they start (41 and 47 percent compared to 3 and 25 percent seven years later) to the skilled level, whereas the dropouts tend to remain at those levels (39 and 50 percent at the start, 11 and 61.5 percent seven years later). Detailed case histories are needed, as well as larger numbers to verify the trends in this

TABLE 8

LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS

In Labor Market by Periods

	I. HS-1957				II. 1957-59				III. 1959-61				IV. 1961-62			
	Graduate		Dropout		Graduate		Dropout		Graduate		Dropout		Graduate		Dropout	
Status	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Work level 3			1	5.5	1	3			2	6			6	19		
4	4	12			9	28	3	16.5	7	22	2	11	11	34	1	5.5
5	15	47	9	50	10	31	8	44	12	37	8	44	8	25	11	61.5
6	13	41	7	39	2	6	4	22	2	6	2	11	1	3	2	11
Milit. 5					6	19	1	5.5	5	16	4	22	2	6	3	16.5
6					2	6	2	11	1	3	1	5.5	3	9		
Ill or unemp.			1	5.5	1	3			1	3	1	5.5	1	3	1	5.5
Educ. level 4					1	3			2	6						
Total	32	100	18	100	32	99	18	100	32	99	18	99	32	99	18	100

group, in order to throw more light on the relative roles of aptitude, socioeconomic status, values, and education in the more frequent advancement of the graduates.

Change of Status or Employment Level

Table 9 reports the total number and average number per man of changes of status or level of employment in each of the four periods of time after leaving high school, and the average number of moves per man during the whole period. Graduates moved somewhat more during the third period, dropouts during the second, but the average number of moves per man does not differ greatly (three and two and a half moves respectively). This is something of a surprise as one would expect graduates to advance more rapidly in their seven years out of school; it is perhaps partly a function of the fact that the dropouts have had somewhat more time in which to move, and may also be due to the combining of upward and downward changes.

TABLE 9

CHANGE OF STATUS OR EMPLOYMENT LEVEL

of Graduates and Dropouts
in the Labor Market

		I. HS-1957		II. 1957-59		III. 1959-61		IV. 1961-62			
	No.	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
Grad.	32	25	.78	15	.47	36	1.18	20	.625	98	3.06
Drop.	18	16	.89	13	.72	7	.39	9	.50	45	2.50

Vertical Mobility

Table 10 attempts this more refined analysis, although as elsewhere in this paper the small numbers make the findings highly tentative and the study is little more than a demonstration of what may be a helpful approach. There does seem to be a tendency for the graduates to move upwards more than do the dropouts, the mean per subject being up one-half for graduates and up one-quarter for dropouts. The graduates' and dropouts' upward moves seem to come early in their work history, but the downward moves of the dropouts, unlike those of the graduates, seem to come later during the years after high school. It is as though the dropout, starting low, drops even further after his low level has been confirmed by experience.

TABLE 10

VERTICAL MOBILITY OF GRADUATES AND DROPOUTS
in the Labor Market

	Upward Moves					
	Number	I. HS-1957	II. 1957-59	III. 1959-61	IV. 1961-62	Total
Grad.	32	10	4	6	3	23
Drop.	18	5	3	1	1	10
	Downward Moves					
Grad.	32	3	0	2	2	7
Drop.	18	0	1	1	3	5
	Balance					
			Total	Mean		
Grad.			+16	.50		
Drop.			+ 5	.28		

THE EARLY CAREER OF THE DROPOUT: SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

In what has preceded we have examined some evidence on the early careers of a typical group of graduates and dropouts in a small city. The numbers involved are small, but the adequacy of the sample is less open to question than is often the case and the personalized methods of data collection make them easier to interpret. We should now summarize the tentative picture of the dropout which emerges from these data.

There was a higher tendency for dropouts to be in the armed forces, to work for others rather than to be self-employed, to be employed at lower levels, and to work in low-level technological jobs than was true of high school graduates who also went to work upon leaving school. The opportunities open to dropouts were, as has often been demonstrated, less varied and less challenging than those open to graduates. There were, interestingly, no differences in the self-estimates of occupational success obtained from dropouts, but they did rate their handling of their own careers less favorably than did the graduates. When dropouts who obtained equivalency diplomas during the first 7 to 10 years after leaving high school were compared with dropouts who did not secure such diplomas, they were found to be working at lower occupational levels and to consider their handling of their careers satisfactory even less frequently than did the regular dropouts.

When the careers of dropouts and graduates are divided into intervals of approximately two years each and changes in the frequency of various employment statuses and types of work are examined, some interesting trends appear. The business contact field seems to employ more dropouts early in their careers and fewer after the lapse of a few years than is true of graduates. As the first few years after leaving school pass, the business organization and technology fields open up more opportunities to dropouts (or they use more such opportunities) than is true of graduates.

During the first two to four years after leaving school, dropouts are no more unstable occupationally than are graduates, but after that, at least until about age 25, the dropouts do change employment status and field of work more often than do graduates. The total number of moves made by dropouts and graduates during the first seven post-high school years is about the same, however, and includes, at least in this sample, only about three changes. The differences lie mostly in the matter of the stage at which moves are made, the dropouts moving more after the lapse of a few years.

When vertical mobility is studied, no differences are found; but when upward and downward mobility are differentiated, dropouts appear to move upward less than do graduates, their occupational level being essentially that of the semiskilled. Dropouts show more vertical movement three and four years after leaving school and less in the fifth and sixth than do graduates. When downward movement is analyzed, the dropouts seem to be downgraded later in their early histories than are the high school graduates, but the numbers involved in this analysis are small. The total movement of the dropouts was an average of one-fourth of an upward move per man, while for graduates the total movement was one-half upward move per man.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This is what is suggested by a preliminary look at some of the Career Pattern Study data on a typical group of high school freshmen, followed up until they reached the age of 25. It fits the general picture of dropouts developed by the large number of studies made in recent years but it reveals changes in the careers of dropouts which tend to be forgotten in the generalizations from mass status studies. Some dropouts get diplomas several years after leaving school; some move upwards on the occupational ladder even though their movements are hampered. Some are dissatisfied with their handling of their careers and may be motivated to take corrective steps, one of which may be the equivalency diploma, especially several years after leaving school. But taken as a group, the picture is not encouraging, for at a time when the bulk of opportunities for them seems to be in technological fields and when technology is advancing at a rapid rate, the tendency is for dropouts to move down, rather than up, the occupational ladder after they have acquired a few years of experience.

The term *vocational development* has enjoyed a certain amount of popularity recently. It implies something dynamic, a growing person relating himself to the world around him, rather than a static matching of eternally square pegs with everlastingly square holes. But development can involve deterioration as well as growth, and the vocational development of the dropout appears, in far too many cases, to involve after a few years deterioration rather than continuing growth. As counselors, as educators valuing human beings, we are concerned with the guidance of positive vocational development, with the guidance of growth rather than of deterioration. The dropout obviously presents a special challenge, in which early developmental measures must be taken in order to foster continuing and healthy growth rather than early deterioration or atrophy.

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Realities of the Job Market

FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT

Herbert Bienstock

The realities of the job market for the high school dropout are, tersely stated, bleak. At the present time, and with every prospect that these relationships will continue to intensify during the remainder of the 1960's, the high school dropout can expect to earn less than the graduate, experience unemployment more often, and, when employed, work in a lower-skill category. If the dropout is nonwhite, his relative position is worse.

There is much concern today, and properly so, with the school dropout problem. Frequently, however, it is misconceived as a problem created by an increase in the number of young people dropping out of school. This is not so in fact. The fact is that a smaller percentage of students are dropping out of school than ever before. What heightens our concern is that there are fewer job opportunities available when they drop out because, under the impact of the great and accelerating increases in automation and technological change, the number of jobs available for high school dropouts is rapidly declining. Indeed, job opportunities for the high school dropout are shrinking more rapidly than the high school dropout rate is declining.

It used to be true that if a boy or girl who wanted to work dropped out of school there was an unskilled job available. Increasingly, this is not the case. That is what complicates this problem. The unprecedented growth anticipated in the American labor force in the decade of the 1960's, particularly the vast influx into the labor market of large numbers of young persons, adds to the dimensions of the problem.

POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE TRENDS

Changes in Labor Force

To properly understand the reality of the job market for the high school dropout during the decade of the 1960's, we need first to take a look at the general manpower posture of the nation during this decade. The unprecedented growth in the labor force in prospect during the 1960's is one of the basic factors in any appraisal of the job outlook for high school dropouts. The number of workers in the United States is expected to rise by about 12.6 million between 1960 and 1970 (see Table 1).

The most dramatic change will occur in the age group 14 to 24, as the large number of youngsters born during the postwar baby boom begin to reach working age (see Table 2). During the 1960's the number of young workers under age 25 will increase by about 45 percent, compared with a 10.7 percent increase

TABLE 1

CHANGES IN TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY AGE

1950 to 1970
(in millions)

	Number			Change			
	Actual		Projected	1950-60		1960-70	
Age	1950	1960	1970	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 25	13.3	13.7	19.9	0.4	2.7	6.2	45.0
25-34	15.1	15.1	16.7	0.1[a]	−0.3	1.6	10.7
35-44	14.1	16.8	16.5	2.7	18.8	−0.3	−1.5
Over 45	22.2	27.5	32.6	5.3	24.1	5.1	18.5

[a] Less than 100,000.

in the age group 25 to 34, an actual decline of 1.5 percent in age group 35 to 44, and an increase of 18.5 percent in the number of workers over 45 years of age. The decline in the number of workers 35 to 44 years of age reflects the impact of the low birth rates of the 1930's. The contraction in the number of workers age 35 to 44, the hard core years of working life, should provide young people with improved opportunities for moving ahead, particularly in the latter part of the 1960's. The increased demand for higher skills and greater education will, however, place an additional handicap on the high school dropout.

To understand the sheer magnitude of the large influx of young people into the world of work of the 1960's, we should compare the net increase of 6.2 million young persons under 25 into the nation's work force with the net increase of 400,000 in this age category recorded during the 1950's. The increase anticipated for the present decade is better than 15 times greater than in the previous decade.

Since the beginning of this century, the proportion of the working population in the younger age groups has been declining steadily because of the significant and substantial drop in labor market participation among youth. Regulations concerning youth employment and lengthening years of attendance in school have been primarily responsible for this trend. Under the impact of the large influx of youngsters into the job market of the 1960's this long-term trend is being reversed, despite the continuing decline in labor market participation among youth as a result of increase in the number of years of school attendance.

The rate of increase among young male workers during the 1960's will be five times as great as the corresponding rate among male workers of other ages. The rate of increase among young female workers during the same period will be more than double the corresponding rate among female workers of other ages. As a result, the proportion of the total labor force made up of young people 14 to 24 years of age will rise to the point where they will account for almost one of every four workers in the United States in 1970. About one of every two new additions to the labor supply in the 1960's will come from the young age groups.

Results of 1947 Baby Crop

As a result of the sharp increase in the birth rate in 1947, following the end of World War II, the number of youngsters reaching 18 years of age—the age at which the first wave of entry into the labor force takes place—will jump by a full million between 1964 and 1965 (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF PERSONS REACHING 18 YEARS OF AGE

(in millions)

Year	Number
1950	2.2
1955	2.2
1960	2.6
1961	2.9
1962	2.8
1963	2.8
1964	2.8
1965	3.8
1966	3.6
1967	3.6
1968	3.6
1969	3.7
1970	3.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Of particular concern is the fact that this year, 1963, the baby crop of 1947 reaches 16 years of age. Thus, in 1963, we will have a full one million more youngsters reaching the age of 16 than we had a year ago, an increase of more than one-third in a single year. Age 16 holds particular significance to those concerned with the problems of the high school dropout since it represents the modal age at which youngsters leave school. Just about one out of every three high school dropouts falls out at age 16.

INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

Significant shifts in the industrial and occupational composition of the nation's economy are not without pertinence to understanding the problems which concern the high school dropout in today's job world.

Distribution of Employment

Possibly the most dramatic shift in our economic structure in recent years has been the relative decline of employment in the goods-producing industries, including agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and construction, and the continued rapid expansion of the service sectors of the economy, especially trade, services, and state and local government (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT, BY INDUSTRY DIVISION

1947, 1957, and 1962

Industry division	1947	1957	1962 [a]
Total [b]	100.0	100.0	100.0
Goods-producing industries	51.3	45.9	41.8
Manufacturing	29.8	29.0	27.7
Durable goods	16.1	16.7	15.6
Nondurable goods	13.7	12.4	12.1
Mining	1.8	1.4	1.1
Construction	3.8	4.9	4.5
Agriculture	15.8	10.5	8.6
Service-producing industries	48.7	54.1	58.2
Transportation and other utilities	8.0	7.2	6.5
Trade	17.2	18.4	19.1
Finance, insurance, and real estate	3.4	4.2	4.6
Services and miscellaneous	9.7	11.4	12.8
Government	10.5	12.9	15.2
Federal	3.6	3.7	3.9
State and local	6.9	9.1	11.3

[a] Preliminary.

[b] Represents wage and salary employment in nonfarm industries based on employers' payroll data, plus total employment in agriculture based on household survey data.

NOTE—Individual items may not add to totals because of rounding.

Since 1930 the relative importance of the goods-producing and service-producing industries has just about reversed. In 1930 goods-producing industries accounted for 56 percent of all employment and service-producing, for 44 percent. In 1950 the service-producing industries for the first time began to provide more jobs for people in this country than the goods-producing industries. By 1960 the goods-producing industries accounted for 45 percent, with the service-producing industries accounting for 55 percent (see Table 4).

Some of the long-term trends date back a century or more, for example, the long-term decline in our farm employment. At the turn of this century about one out of every three persons in the labor force worked on a farm; today the proportion is less than one-tenth. This shift has continued to be an important factor in the labor market in recent years.

TABLE 4

TRENDS IN 1930-70 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT

by Goods- and Service-Producing Industries

Year	Goods producing	Service producing	Year	Goods producing	Service producing
1930	56	44	1955	47	53
1940	54	46	1960	45	55
1945	53	47	1965	44	56
1950	49	51	1970	43	57

Major Occupational Changes

This trend is of considerable significance to the high school dropout since it is one of the major causes of his difficulties in the labor market. The high school dropout was not quite the economic liability on the farm that he is in the cities today. Indeed, on the farm where brawn and willingness to work hard were among the major job attributes, the high school dropout was an economic asset. Each year since the end of World War II, however, a net average of about 200,000 workers have shifted out of agricultural employment to nonfarm jobs or out of the labor force. For the decade ahead an additional loss of 1.2 million farm jobs is projected (see Table 5).

Changes in industrial structure also involve changes in occupational mix since industries vary considerably in occupational composition. The major occupational change during the past half century has been away from the arduous, unskilled types of jobs toward occupations that require higher levels of skill and, therefore, education and training. The professional and other white-collar occupations have grown fastest over the past half century and this pattern is expected to continue in the years ahead (see Table 5). Employment of professional and technical workers as a group increased by 47 percent between 1950 and 1960, a growth rate more than three times the average for all occupational groups.

The clerical worker category, an important component of the total white-collar group, showed employment gains of 34 percent between 1950 and 1960, a rate of growth second only to that for professional workers. Sales workers were also among the occupational groups which expanded at an above-average rate, by 19 percent, during the 1950's. As a result the white-collar groups increased in relative proportion from 38 percent to 43 percent of total employment between 1950 and 1960 and are expected to continue to gain at a rapid pace. It is anticipated that by 1970 the white-collar categories will account for 47 percent of employment.

TABLE 5

EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

1950, 1960, and Projected 1970

Occupational group	Number (in millions)			Percent distribution		
	1950	1960	1970[a]	1950	1960	1970
All groups	59.7	66.7	80.5	100	100	100
White collar	22.4	28.8	37.5	38	43	47
Manual	23.3	24.3	27.6	39	36	34
Service	6.5	8.3	11.1	11	13	14
Farm	7.5	5.4	4.2	12	8	5

[a] Projected by Bureau of Labor Statistics. Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

In contrast, the blue-collar or manual occupations declined in importance from 1950 to 1960 and are expected to continue to decline between 1960 and 1970. The craftsmen, foremen, and kindred worker group, which account for about one out of every three blue-collar jobs, rose by about 12 percent between 1950 and 1960, a rate below the average for employment generally.

Operatives and kindred workers, one of the largest occupational groups in the labor force, did not change significantly in absolute numbers and thus declined in relative importance. The third major component of the blue-collar group, the industrial laborers, recorded an actual decline of 10 percent between 1950 and 1960. By 1970 the blue-collar group is expected to fall in relative importance to about 34 percent of total employment from a level of 39 percent in 1950. Service jobs are expected to increase quite rapidly, from 6.5 million in 1950 to a level of 11 million in 1970. In relative importance this group is expected to rise from 11 percent of total employment in 1950 to about 14 percent in 1970. By 1970 farm jobs are expected to account for only about 1 out of every 20 jobs in the nation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT

Educational Attainment and Employment

It is increasingly apparent that the fastest expanding occupational sectors are those which typically require the highest degree of education and training and provide the least in the way of job opportunities for the high school dropout (see Table 6).

Compared with an over-all job gain of 21 percent projected for the period 1960 to 1970, the professional and technical worker category, in which persons presently employed average 16.2 years of school, is expected to register a gain of 43 percent. Less than 2 out of every 100 high school dropouts find employment in this occupational group.

In the clerical and kindred worker group, which is expected to register a 31 percent gain for the decade, educational attainment in March 1962 averaged 12.5 years. Less than 7 out of every 100 high school dropouts find employment in this category.

On the other hand, just about half of all employed persons in March 1962 with less than 12 years of education were employed in blue-collar jobs. One out of every four such persons was employed as an operative or a kindred worker, a job area in which opportunities are in relative decline. Seven percent of all persons with less than a high school graduation in March 1962 were employed as industrial laborers, a category in which no increase in job opportunities is expected for the entire decade of the

1960's. The close relationship between level of educational attainment and occupational category of employment is clear.

TABLE 6

EMPLOYMENT CHANGE, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND DISTRIBUTION
of Employed Persons by Occupational Group

Occupational group	Change 1960-70		Median school years completed March 1962	March 1962 distribution of employed persons 18 years old and over by educational attainment		
	Number (millions)	Percent		Less than high school graduation	High school graduation	Some college education
All groups	13.8	21	12.1	100	100	100
White collar	8.7	30		22	54	84
Professional and technical workers	3.2	43	16.2	2	7	43
Managers and proprietors	1.5	21	12.5	9	12	17
Clerical and kindred workers	3.0	31	12.5	7	27	15
Sales workers	1.0	23	12.5	4	8	8
Blue collar	3.3	14		50	32	10
Craftsmen and foremen	1.7	20	11.2	16	14	5
Operatives and kindred workers	1.6	13	10.1	26	15	4
Laborers, except farm and mine	0	0	8.9	7	3	1
Service occupations	2.8	34	10.3	18	10	5
Farm occupations	−1.2	−22	8.7	10	4	2

Occupational Distribution

The relatively bleak outlook for the high school dropout is put into sharper focus by the data presented in Table 7. Only 22 percent of white-collar workers in March 1962 had less than four years of high school, while 40 percent had some college education. In contrast, 65 percent of the blue-collar work force reported less than a high school education, with only 6 percent having some college education. Again we see the tendency for the high school dropout to make up a much larger component of that part of the work force which is expanding least rapidly.

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPLOYED 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER
by Educational Attainment, March 1962

Occupational group	Less than high school graduation	High school graduation	Some college education	Total
All groups	46	32	22	100
White-collar occupations	22	38	40	100
Professional and technical workers	7	17	76	100
Managers and proprietors	33	34	33	100
Clerical and kindred workers	21	57	22	100
Sales workers	31	40	29	100
Blue-collar occupations	65	29	6	100
Craftsmen and foremen	57	34	9	100
Operatives and kindred workers	68	27	5	100
Laborers, except farm and mine	75	21	4	100
Service occupations	65	27	8	100
Farm occupations	72	21	7	100

Major Occupation Groups

The kinds of jobs school dropouts obtain are much less desirable than those held by high school graduates. Nonwhite youth appear to be in an even less favorable position, whether they are graduates or dropouts. Table 8 indicates the occupational distribution of white and nonwhite high school dropouts and graduates during the period 1959 to 1961 in terms of their labor force status in October 1961. Better than 4 out of every 10 white high school graduates were employed in the clerical and kindred worker category, compared with about 1 out of every 10 of the white high school dropouts.

Relatively fewer nonwhite workers, whether high school graduates or dropouts, obtain clerical jobs. However, the differences between the employment pattern of white high school graduates and dropouts also hold true for nonwhite youth. While more than 16 percent of nonwhite high school graduates were employed as clerical and kindred workers in 1961, only 3 percent of the nonwhite school dropouts were employed in clerical jobs in 1961.

From these data it is evident that the high school dropout can anticipate starting his journey in the world of work in a lower skilled category.

TABLE 3

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP

of High School Graduates Not Enrolled in College by Year of High School Graduation and of School Dropouts by Year Last Attended School, by Color, October 1961
(Percent distribution of persons 16 to 24 years of age)

Major occupation group of employed	High school graduates		School dropouts			
	White	Non-white	White		Nonwhite	
	1959 to 1961		1959 to 1961	Prior to 1961	1959 to 1961	Prior to 1959
All occupation groups:						
Number (thousands)	1,896	199	636	1,625	198	432
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	3.5	1.0	1.6	1.2	0.5	0.5
Farmers and farm managers	1.2	...	0.6	1.4	...	3.0
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	1.8	1.0	1.2	1.8	...	.9
Clerical and kindred workers	42.6	17.4	10.4	6.7	3.0	2.8
Sales workers	5.8	3.0	3.6	3.8	2.0	0.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	5.0	3.5	5.8	12.9	3.0	3.0
Operatives and kindred workers	19.0	23.9	31.0	39.4	13.4	23.2
Private household workers	1.6	9.0	5.9	2.2	10.4	10.6
Service workers, except private household	8.8	21.4	12.5	10.8	15.9	18.3
Farm laborers and foremen	4.3	11.4	11.8	8.4	37.8	21.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	6.3	8.5	15.6	11.4	13.9	15.4

NOTE—Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

CHANGING LEVELS OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Trends in Educational Attainment

In Table 9 we see evidence of the educational advances since 1940 in the nation's work force. For the labor force, 18 years of age and over, the median years of schooling completed have lengthened from 9.1 years to 12.1 years, a gain of 3 full years in less than a quarter of a century.

TABLE 9

TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE LABOR FORCE

18 Years Old and Over, 1940-1962

Year	Median school years completed	Percent distribution by years of school completed[a]		
		School dropouts	High school graduates	Some college
March 1962	12.1	46.2	32.1	21.7
March 1959	12.0	49.2	31.7	19.1
March 1957	11.7	51.5	30.5	18.0
October 1952	10.9	55.6	27.8	16.6
October 1948[a]	10.6	....	....	....
April 1940[a]	9.1	68.1	19.7	12.2

[a] Does not include persons 65 years old and over except for distribution for March 1962.

The proportion of high school dropouts in the nation's work force has declined accordingly. In April 1940 better than two out of every three American workers had an educational attainment of less than 12 years, with only 12.2 percent having been exposed to some college education. By March 1962 the percent of high school dropouts in the nation's work force had declined to less than half (46.2 percent) with more than one out of every five workers (21.7 percent) achieving some college education. The proportion of high school graduates in the nation's work force has risen steadily from 19.7 percent in April 1940 to 32.1 percent in March 1962.

Educational Status of Labor Force Entrants

With the rising level of educational attainment we are in fact holding more youngsters in school for longer periods of time than ever before. Despite this, however, the number of high school dropouts anticipated for the decade of the 1960's totals 7.5 million. Despite the declining dropout rate, the sharp increase in the number of persons in the younger age categories during the 1960's results in a growth in the total number of high school dropouts entering the labor force of from 7.2 million to 7.5 million (see Table 10).

TABLE 10

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF LABOR FORCE ENTRANTS

in the 1950's and the 1960's

	1950's		1960's [a]	
Level of attainment	Number (millions)	Percent	Number (millions)	Percent
Completed 4 years high school or better	11.4	61.3	18.3	70.9
High school dropout	7.2	38.7	7.5	29.1
Total	18.6	100	25.8	100

[a] Projection.

Thus, close to 30 percent of the 26 million young people entering the work force of the 1960's will have dropped out of high school before graduation. In the context of what we have noted in terms of the rapid drying-up of opportunities for the high school dropout, one can begin to understand the nature of the problem.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE DROPOUT

Unemployment Rates

Unemployment has traditionally been substantially higher among young persons than among adults (see Table 11). In 1962, for example, the unemployment rate for young persons 14 to 19 years of age ran about 13 percent. For those in their early 20's the rate was 9 percent, while for adults 25 years and over it averaged somewhat over 4 percent. Although they represent only one-fifth of the total labor force, young persons under 25 account for a third of the unemployed. Typically, the teenage unemployment rate runs two and one-half to three times as high as the rate for persons over age 25. Very significant also is the fact that an average of more than twice as many male and female nonwhites as whites are unemployed.

TABLE 11

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, 1962

by Age, Color, and Sex

Age group	White		Nonwhite	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	4.6	5.5	11.0	11.1
14-17	12.1	11.7	19.9	24.1
18-24	9.3	8.9	16.6	21.9
25-34	3.8	5.4	10.5	11.9
35-44	3.1	4.5	8.8	8.9
45 and over	3.8	3.6	9.1	5.7

There are some obvious reasons for the relatively higher rates of unemployment for these young people, since in this group are included a large proportion of the new entrants into the labor market who frequently have a period of unemployment associated with "shopping around" for a job. Young people also tend to change their jobs more frequently than older persons as they seek the "right" job. Furthermore, young people starting out on their working careers tend to be relatively vulnerable to layoffs because of lack of seniority and inexperience.

Long-Term Unemployment Rates

Of particular concern has been the sharp rise in the long-term unemployment rate for young people. In 1957 the age group 14 to 24 accounted for about 17 percent of the long-term unemployed (six months or longer). By 1962 this age group had risen to account for almost 23 percent of those unemployed for more than six months (see Table 12). Large numbers of youngsters out of school and out of work, some 700,000 of them in 1962, present the nation with a social problem of large dimensions.

TABLE 12

LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED

Six Months and Longer
by Age and Sex, 1957 and 1962

Sex and age	1962	1957
Total	100.0	100.0
Male	69.8	70.7
14-24 years	15.0	11.7
25-44 years	23.0	21.8
45 years and over	31.9	37.2
Female	30.2	29.3
14-24 years	7.8	5.4
25-44 years	11.8	12.6
45 years and over	10.6	11.3

Comparative Unemployment Rates

Although the rate of unemployment is high among all young people, it is far higher for the high school dropout. Dropouts differ considerably from high school graduates in that a greater proportion are men, nonwhite, and come from farm areas. In a study of employment and unemployment experience of high school dropouts and their labor force status in October 1961, some striking differences in unemployment experience of dropouts and high school graduates were noted (see Table 13). Almost 27 percent of the dropouts who left school in 1961 were unemployed in October as compared with 18 percent of the high school graduates.

The rate of unemployment for both dropouts and graduates declined as they grew older and obtained more job experience. However, school dropouts are not able to overcome many of their disadvantages and continue to suffer from considerably more unemployment than graduates.

Those who dropped out of school in 1959 had a rate of unemployment in October 1961 nearly twice as high as that for the high school graduates of 1959. Altogether, a total of 500,000 dropouts 16 to 24 years old were unemployed in October 1961, accounting for about one-half of all persons in these ages who were unemployed and out of school.

The dropouts' limited education and the fact that they tend to be younger than graduates help to explain their special difficulty in finding jobs. The dropouts are clustered in the 16 to 18 age group whereas most graduates tend to be at least 18 years or over.

TABLE 13

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY SEX, OCTOBER 1961

of High School Graduates Not Enrolled in College by Year of High School Graduation and of School Dropouts by Year Last Attended School
(Persons 16 to 24 years of age)

Graduation status and sex	1961 [a]	1960	1959	Prior to 1959
Both sexes:				
High school graduates	17.9	11.5	8.3	7.4
School dropouts	26.8	17.2	17.0	12.7
Male:				
High school graduates	18.5	13.9	6.8	6.3
School dropouts	28.0	15.0	17.5	10.4
Female:				
High school graduates	17.6	9.9	9.7	8.7
School dropouts	(b)	22.1	16.1	17.9

[a] Data for graduates refer to June graduates only.

[b] Percent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

Educational Attainment

The close correlation between unemployment, experience, and level of educational attainment is dramatically shown in the data presented in Table 14. Unemployment rates for high school dropouts run more than half again as high as those for high school graduates, while those with some college education experience unemployment at less than one-third the rate of high school dropouts.

TABLE 14

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

March 1962

Years of school completed	Unemployment rate
Total	6.0
Less than high school graduation	8.1
High school graduation	5.1
Some college education	2.6

Occupational Groups

Another perspective of the reality of the job market for the high school dropout is shown in Table 15. The close correlation between the unemployment rate in occupational groups and the relative importance of high school dropouts in the labor force in each group is clear.

In 1962 unemployment in the professional and technical occupations was at a rate of 1.7 percent. Less than 7 percent of the professional, technical, and kindred worker group, however, consisted of high school dropouts. In contrast, the industrial laborers' unemployment rate was 12.4 percent in 1962 and the data show that three out of every four workers were high school dropouts.

TABLE 15

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

and Percent of Group with Less Than High School Graduation

Occupational groups	Unemployment rate 1962	Percent high school dropouts March 1962
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	1.7	6.9
Clerical and kindred workers	3.9	21.2
Sales workers	4.1	31.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	5.1	56.9
Operatives and kindred workers	7.5	67.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	12.4	74.6

EARNINGS AND THE DROPOUT

Earnings and Education

Not only can the high school dropout expect to find employment in a relatively low skill occupation and experience a higher rate of unemployment but he can also look forward to a considerably lower level of lifetime earnings (see Table 16). As might be expected, additional years of schooling have little immediate impact on initial earnings. Inexperienced workers in most occupations start at a relatively low level of earnings which tend to increase as skill and experience are acquired.

Persons with a relatively low level of educational attainment, however, tend to reach their earning peak earlier in life and at a considerably lower level than persons at the upper end of the educational attainment range.

TABLE 16

LIFETIME EARNINGS BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATION

Males, by Years of School Completed, 1949 and 1961

Years of school completed	1949	1961
Elementary		
Less than 8 years	$ 98,222	$124,930
8 years	132,683	168,810
High school		
1 to 3 years	$152,068	$193,082
4 years	185,279	224,417
College		
1 to 3 years	$209,282	$273,049
4 years or more	296,377	360,604

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Estimates of lifetime income provide an insight into the financial rewards associated with education that cannot readily be obtained from the annual income data. Additional schooling is clearly associated with a very substantial increase in lifetime income. A study by Herman P. Miller of the U.S. Bureau of the Census revealed that over a lifetime the difference in earnings of men with one to three years of high school and those of a high school graduate is better than $31,000, while the difference in earnings between a high school graduate and a college graduate is about $136,000.

Earning Trends

Table 17 throws some additional light on earning trends in recent decades. Of males 45 to 54 years of age, those with four or more years of college reported increases in annual income of 66.2 percent between 1949 and 1958, compared with a 47.4 percent increase for high school graduates, a 40.9 percent increase for persons with one to three years of high school, and a 25.9 percent increase for persons with less than eight years of schooling. There appears to be a clear relationship between level of educational attainment and rate of increase in annual income for this period.

TABLE 17

CHANGES IN INCOME BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

for Selected Population Groups, 1949-58 and 1956-58

	Years of school completed					
	Elementary		High school		College	
Population group	Less than 8 years	8 years	1 to 3 years	4 years	1 to 3 years	4 years or more
Males, 45 to 54 years:						
1949	$2,140	$2,912	$3,209	$3,687	$4,099	$5,549
1958	2,694	4,065	4,522	5,433	6,366	9,220
Percent change	25.9	39.6	40.9	47.4	55.3	66.2
Urban males, 14 years and over:						
1956	$2,654	$3,631	$3,858	$4,563	$4,526	$6,176
1958	2,504	3,594	3,840	4,702	4,921	6,780
Change	−$150	−$37	−$18	$139	$395	$604
Urban females, 14 years and over:						
1956	$830	$1,178	$1,111	$2,093	$1,775	$3,090
1958	845	1,055	1,101	2,181	2,085	3,447
Change	$15	−$123	−$10	$88	$310	$357

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, Nos. 33 and 27, and U.S. Census of Population, 1950, Special Report P-E, No. 5B.

Distribution of Family Income

In Table 18 we see evidence of the close relationship between education of family head and family income in the year 1961. While 78 percent of those with less than high school graduation had family income under $3,000 a year, only 21 percent of those earning $15,000 and over were in the less than high school graduation category. At the upper end of the family income range, $15,000 and over, 58 percent of all family heads had some college education, while in the under $3,000 category only 7 percent reported some college education.

TABLE 18

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME, 1961

by Years of School Completed by Head

Family income	Education of head		
	Less than high school graduation	High school graduation	Some college
Total	55	26	20
Under $3,000	78	15	7
$3,000 to $4,999	62	26	10
$5,000 to $6,999	50	32	17
$7,000 to $9,999	42	32	26
$10,000 to $14,999	33	28	38
$15,000 and over	21	20	58

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DROPOUT

Some Factors in Graduation Status

Recent studies of the Census Bureau reveal some interesting high lights on the characteristics of young people who reach the senior year of high school and of those who do not, and of high school seniors who graduate and those who fail to graduate. The findings are presented in Tables 19 to 21. More than 12 percent of high school seniors in 1959 did not graduate, nearly

16 percent of the boys and 9 percent of the girls. In both categories, the comparison of nonwhite seniors who did not graduate was much higher, for example, 24 percent of nonwhite males compared with 15 percent of white males. There appears to be some relationship to place of residence, with 14.1 percent of urban seniors not graduating, compared with 11.3 percent of seniors in the rural farm areas, and 8.9 percent of seniors in the rural nonfarm areas.

TABLE 19

GRADUATION STATUS IN 1960 OF OCTOBER 1959 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by Selected Demographic Characteristics

(Based on persons reporting characteristics)

	High school seniors in October 1959		
		Percent who—	
Subject	Number reporting	Graduated	Did not graduate
Color and Sex			
Total	2,057,000	87.7	12.3
Male	1,037,000	84.2	15.8
White	941,000	84.9	15.0
Nonwhite	96,000	76.0	24.0
Female	1,020,000	91.2	8.8
White	924,000	91.9	8.1
Nonwhite	96,000	84.4	15.6
Residence			
Urban	1,215,000	85.9	14.1
Rural nonfarm	549,000	91.1	8.9
Rural farm	293,000	88.7	11.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Series Census—ERS (P-27), No. 32.

A close relationship with occupation of the household head appears to be evident (see Table 21). The proportion of October 1959 high school seniors who did not graduate varied from a low of 8.1 percent for youngsters coming from farm worker families to 9.7 percent in families with white-collar worker heads, 13.2 percent with manual or service heads, and 23.2 percent of youngsters with heads of family unemployed or not in the labor force.

Family income, too, appears significant. Seniors from families earning under $6,000 experience a failure-to-graduate rate of about 17 percent compared with an approximately 7-percent rate in families with annual income of $6,000 and over. Table 20 shows the close relationship between IQ quartile and the ratio of graduates as well as close relationship to achievement. Interestingly enough, high school seniors in the general curriculum experience the higher dropout rate, 18.3 percent, compared with 12.7 percent in the commercial and vocational curriculum and 4.1 percent in the college preparatory curriculum.

TABLE 20

GRADUATION STATUS IN 1960 OF OCTOBER 1959 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by Selected Measures of Ability and Educational Planning
(Based on persons reporting characteristics)

Subject	High school seniors in October 1959		
	Number reporting	Percent who—	
		Graduated	Did not graduate
Intelligence Quotient (IQ)			
Top quartile	552,000	94.7	5.3
Second quartile	491,000	93.5	6.5
Third quartile	300,000	88.0	12.0
Bottom quartile	343,000	79.9	20.1
Scholastic Standing			
Top quartile	462,000	97.4	2.6
Second quartile	419,000	96.7	3.3
Third quartile	402,000	95.3	4.7
Bottom quartile	475,000	80.5	19.5
High School Curriculum			
College preparatory	753,000	95.9	4.1
General	709,000	81.7	18.3
Commercial, vocational, and other	401,000	87.3	12.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Series Census—ERS (P-27), No. 32.

TABLE 21

GRADUATION STATUS IN 1960 OF OCTOBER 1959 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by Selected Economic Characteristics
(Based on persons reporting characteristics)

Subject	High school seniors in October 1959		
	Number reporting	Percent who—	
		Graduated	Did not graduate
Occupation of household head			
White-collar worker	713,000	90.3	9.7
Manual or service worker	1,005,000	86.8	13.2
Farm worker	185,000	91.9	8.1
Unemployed or not in labor force	155,000	76.8	23.2
Family income			
Under $4,000	289,000	84.4	15.6
$4,000 to $5,999	241,000	81.3	18.7
$6,000 to $9,999	266,000	93.6	6.4
$10,000 and over	123,000	91.1	8.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Series Census—ERS (P-27), No. 32.

SUMMARY

The realities of the job market for high school dropouts can be understood best in the framework of the basic patterns of population trend, labor force changes, industrial and occupational shifts, and the new patterns of educational attainment that are now characteristic.

Among the more significant developments to be considered are:

1. We are on the threshold of an unprecedented influx of 26 million youths into the labor market of the 1960's. The large expansion of the under-25 group in the labor force, at the same time that rapid advances in technological development in industry are taking place, presents some major barriers to any satisfactory labor force adjustment of the dropout.

2. Fifteen times as many young people under age 25 will enter the work force in the 1960's as did in the 1950's. About 30 percent of the 26 million will be high school dropouts.

3. Beginning in 1963 there will be about 1 million more young people each year reaching the typical dropout age of 16 than the average level for the five-year period of 1958-62.

4. Despite the increase in the total number of dropouts in the 1960's, the dropout rate is declining; educational attainment is rising and the proportion of high school dropouts in the labor force has recently fallen below the 50-percent mark.

5. Dramatic shifts in industry are taking place. Under the impact of rapid technological change, job opportunities on the farms and in the factories are shrinking—job areas that typically provided employment opportunities to dropouts.

6. White-collar and service jobs are expanding rapidly; blue-collar and farm jobs are shrinking. It is evident that the major areas of job expansion in the decade of the 1960's and beyond will be in those occupational categories that require the highest degree of education and training. On balance, job opportunities for dropouts are contracting.

7. Unemployment is typically, at least in the United States, a problem of youth. Unemployment rates in the teenage years run two and one-half to three times the rate for workers over 25.

8. Unemployment hits the dropout even harder. The circle of relationship between level of educational attainment and occupation distribution of employment and unemployment closes in on the dropout with an unemployment rate that, good times or bad, runs considerably higher than for graduates.

9. Not only can the dropout expect to experience higher rates of unemployment and work in a lower skill level, but he can also anticipate lower annual and lifetime earnings.

10. There is evidence that among the significant factors determining *who* will become a dropout are: color, place of residence, education, occupation of family head, family income, IQ level, scholastic achievement, and course of study.

The outlook for the dropout in the world of work is bleak and will become increasingly so, unless new paths are found to bridge the gap between school and some of the expanding job areas within their reach, such as the service and skilled worker categories.

While the high school dropout may not represent, for the most part, college potential, the expanding occupations present a fruitful area for the development of training methods needed to move the dropout into some of the rapidly expanding areas of the economy. For smaller numbers, it may be possible to motivate them to extend their education and training to reach into the faster-growing job categories, the semiprofessional, technical, clerical, and sales occupations.

Unless such paths are found, it is clear that the realities of the job market for the high school dropout can mean only higher levels of unemployment, lower levels of earnings, and, when employed, work in jobs that are rapidly feeling the adverse impact of automation and technological development.

PART II

GUIDANCE PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Guidance Program – General Considerations for Its Organization and Administration 117
Dean L. Hummel

The Cooperative Role of the Counselor in Working with Teachers, Others in Pupil Personnel Services, and Community Agencies in Improving School Holding Power 132
Bruce E. Shear

Working with Parents: School – Counselor – Parent – Teacher Interaction: A Developing Pattern 150
Daniel Fullmer

Counseling Services for Out-of-School Youth 159
Harold J. Reed

Today's 40,000 guidance counselors (full and part time) in the country's public schools hold a surprising number of similar duties and responsibilities. Most school counselors are involved, directly or indirectly, in their school's testing programs, in maintaining their school's permanent or cumulative pupil records, in providing educational-vocational information through the school's guidance office files of libraries, in pupil program planning or scheduling, and in assisting pupils with college and scholarship applications. These activities are conducted by the large majority of guidance counselors and can probably be considered as standard features of most contemporary secondary school guidance programs.

While there is great similarity in this core of guidance activity, the conduct and organization of these various activities are extremely varied and diverse. Furthermore, these activities are usually supplemented by a number of additional undertakings which may be assigned by the administrator or assumed by the counselor. The counselor's participation in these additional activities may be substantial or slight. Thus, the counselor may spend a good deal of his remaining time and energy in developing orientation-articulation activities for sixth-, ninth-, or twelfth-graders and relatively little time in conferring with teachers or parents. Or the opposite may prevail. As a result, a variety of acceptable possibilities, superimposed on a common core of guidance activity, characterize programs of guidance services and the counselor's role and function. This situation has led to numerous studies of the counselor's different responsibilities and the distribution of time to various activities.*

As they are now organized, guidance programs, therefore, permit varying attention to a number of emphases and concerns. These may be determined or influenced by community expectancies, administrative edicts, the stimulation by counselor educators or state education departments, or by the counselor's personal inclinations. Within this flexible framework, the counselor may focus on various groups, subgroups, or types of individuals, or he may develop, introduce, or expand specific guidance activities, e.g., group procedures.

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* See the following:

Peters, Herman J., chairman. *Guidance in Ohio.* Experimental project by the Ohio State University and the Ohio Department of Education. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Department of Education, 1961.

Wrenn, C. Gilbert. *The Counselor in a Changing World.* APGA. 1962.

Griese, Lucius E. "The Duties of Certified Counselors in the Public Schools of Missouri." Doctor's thesis. Washington University, 1955.

The four papers in this section examine current guidance practice and review existing programs in light of the dropout challenge to education and to guidance as delineated in Part One. Because current programs exhibit a certain degree of flexibility and reflect the dynamic quality of a relatively young profession, most of the suggestions, particularly those in the first three papers, can be incorporated with minimal program revision. The first three authors advocate more of a shift in emphasis or focus on the part of the counselor and his activities. The guidance activities and practices discussed in the first three papers are, on the whole, not new to guidance programs, but their conduct, especially with regard to the potential dropout, requires additional attention. Hummel's recommended exit interview, for instance, is readily familiar to the majority of counselors, but its appearance as a regular guidance feature is all too rare.

In his paper on guidance program organization and administration Hummel indicates that guidance programs, properly organized and adequately staffed, can decrease the school dropout rate and benefit those students who are potential dropouts. He first reminds us that a program of guidance services must primarily be reviewed in the context of the schools that maintain them. The purposes and goals of the school will obviously strongly influence the character of its guidance program.

Hummel stipulates seven general considerations for effective guidance programs that adequately provide for the potential dropout and six basic areas of responsibility for the counselor. The guidance program, for example, should include provision for orientation activities for pupils and their parents. Guidance activities should be based on the identified characteristics of the entire school population and the community it serves, as with the Great Cities Programs. The guidance program should include identification procedures for potential dropouts and provide mandatory exit interviews for each student who leaves.

Important for all students, but especially so for potential dropouts, is the counselor's work in the areas of counseling, group procedures, testing, and placement and follow-up. The counselor also provides important services to the instructional staff and the school administrator. Hummel submits that most teachers have neither the time nor the training for effective counseling, but he feels that the counselor can play an important in-service training role by assisting teachers in interpreting pupil behavior and improving their skills in understanding students.

The counselor's responsibility does not end when the pupil leaves school, Hummel maintains. The pupil must be assisted in taking his first steps into the world of work or to a higher level of education. Likewise, planned follow-up studies of former students, graduates, and dropouts, in order to evaluate program effectiveness, are essential school activities in which the counselor has a major responsibility. These latter activities have long been cited by counselors and counselor educators as essential program activities. Unfortunately their inclusion in guidance programs has been all too spotty.

Shear points out that the dropout problem has been an evolving one over the last 30 years; school personnel are now at the point where they no longer need to be on the defensive and to rationalize the situation. Recognition and assessment of the problem by the schools and the general public, combined with the recent upswing in national concern, have created a favorable atmosphere for concerted action by counselors and others in the school and the community. This is particularly significant, he stresses, because fragmented approaches will be ineffective and dangerous. He warns of the danger that lies in satisfaction with limited attacks rather than with broader programs employing greater staff and community participation and the more durable success they make possible.

Citing Hoyt, he agrees that the counselor cannot be as effective in reducing dropout rates as many educators believe possible, but that on the other hand the counselor can become "much more effective in this area than he typically is." However, the counselor cannot be all things to all people, Shear warns, and his best contribution can come if he works within a well-defined, delimited area. This means sharing responsibility with community agencies as well as with other school personnel, such as the teacher, the school psychologist, and the attendance teacher. For school and community agencies, it is well to have divisions of basic functions clearly understood. Counselors and other pupil personnel workers should refrain from assuming responsibilities in other areas. Furthermore, heavy concentration on problems should be avoided. Rather than a specific program specially designed to reduce school dropouts, programs should be developed to serve a pupil population of widely differing abilities, backgrounds, aptitudes, interests, and aspirations. The program then provides for the potential dropout as a regular program objective rather than in the form of a crash or augmented approach.

The counselor's relationships as he works with teachers, other pupil personnel workers, and community agencies are illustrated in specific situations that influence school holding power. Local dropout studies, conducted by the counselor with other school and community representatives, should be routine and serve as the basis for a program of planning and action. As the school's or community's dropout problem involves much more than guidance, the study of the problem should involve others in addition to counselors.

In a systematic screening process, the identification of potential dropouts must be an ongoing process started early in the school life of the child. Similarly, this process should include other school staff members in addition to the counselor, parents, and community agency representatives. Shear feels that school holding power could be further improved if the counselor gave greater attention to the "guidance conference" technique, program evaluation, and to his professional commitment. Counselors who resort to the argument of limited time should find the latter point particularly provocative.

The counselor, in his work with potential dropouts, is severely hampered if he does not involve parents. Assuming he does, Fullmer raises a sharp question about the real adequacy of the counselor's present approach as he works with these students and their parents. Fullmer first describes his counseling work with families in Oregon, using a group counseling technique. Family group counseling, he shows, is an excellent way of extending the involvement of parents in their child's education. But he voices strong objection to education's present emphasis on vicarious learning and its extension to counseling. Youth learn, and subsequently behave, as a direct consequence of what they personally experience, he says. For this reason, educational or counseling *practice* is considerably more significant than its *content*. Fullmer found for the type of youth in his experimental group that growth occurs as new interpersonal relationships are provided, and not through mere verbalizations.

Students, says Fullmer, are stimulated by and learn directly from significant adults. Counselors, therefore, should expose these boys and girls to new interpersonal relationships rather than continue to rely on the more traditional problem-solving techniques. In addition, he submits, teachers and counselors prefer to work with youngsters most like themselves but these are the youngsters who need the least help!

Fullmer infers that much of what the counselor now does with the pupils and their parents could be considerably improved, following adequate preparation. Elaborate new techniques, he believes, are not required; the procedures are well within the structure of the school and of counseling.

Reed's paper considers guidance services for out-of-school youth, aged 16 to 21, both high school graduates and nongraduates. Agreement concerning provision of counseling services for this age group as a standard practice is divided. Reed, however, feels that there is little question about the *need* for such services. To make his point he examines the dynamics of out-of-school youth behavior and the general characteristics of their problems. The large number of school dropouts and the inadequacy of their education is a prime factor. The frequency of vocational dissatisfaction and unemployment among this group are further reasons for providing guidance services, he says. Also, current guidance emphasis on the college-bound in the schools works to the detriment of the noncollege-bound, leaving him in need of additional assistance after he leaves school.

Assuming these services should be routinely provided for this age group, who should have the primary responsibility for making them available? This is no easy question to answer, Reed says, because the schools, government employment services, and community agencies could each logically and effectively provide such services. Indeed, there are numerous instances where each has done so. To avoid duplication, there is now an urgent need to develop a basic pattern in which one of these institutions is assigned primary responsibility for these services. Acknowledging the contributions of other agencies, Reed sees the school as the most appropriate of these.

What type of guidance services should be provided for this age group? "Problem-solving" counseling, says Reed, should definitely be included, along with placement services and consultation with parents. In addition, orientation materials, coordination and referral services, and follow-up and occupational surveys have an important place in a program of guidance services for this group.

The four papers in Part II examine the typical program of guidance services to determine how it might be strengthened in order to improve school holding power and decrease the number of school dropouts. The first three papers in this section suggest numerous guidance activities, approaches, and procedures which can readily be adapted or developed by most guidance departments. The fourth paper submits that these same services, moreover, should be continued until the individual reaches the age of 21.

Guidance Program–

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR ITS ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Dean L. Hummel

THE SCHOOL—AN ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

> Society is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living or growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest. It is a vast issue of reciprocal activity, differentiated into innumerable systems, some of them interwoven to such a degree that you see different systems according to the point of view you take.[1]

Thus Cooley defined society in the early 1900's, and it seems to me that his definition could be equally applicable today to one of society's major institutions—that is, the school. For the school is a complex form of institution, with interaction among many persons, embodied in a central unit, so that the function of any one facet of the total school program inevitably affects all the rest. And today the program of guidance services, while perhaps not universally defined, is certainly interwoven with the total school program. The organization of the guidance program, or framework within which it operates and the processes it encourages, depends in large part on identifiable situational factors. For the organization and administration of the guidance program to be in harmony with the contemporary concern for "dropouts," it is appropriate that consideration be given to the school's purposes, the characteristics of school dropouts, and the organization and administration of guidance as a facilitating process in education.

PURPOSES OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

The paramount purposes for any generation in the United States were envisioned long ago. According to Henry M. Wriston, chairman of the commission on *Goals for Americans*,[2] the purposes are to guard the rights of the individual, to ensure his development, and to enlarge his opportunity. Major emphasis and responsibility supporting the American concept of democratic government have rested on a system of universal education. Our educational philosophy has encompassed an appreciation of the worth and dignity of the individual, realization of individual differences among men, and a recognition of man's inherent rights of self-direction and choice. Over the years we have maintained our beliefs in these concepts in the face of many challenges, and we have made great progress toward providing basic educational experiences for all people.

Present-day challenges facing our nation have greatly increased the responsibilities of the educational system. In order to maintain integrity in a nation and freedom for all individuals, it is incumbent upon the organization of the school to increase the scope and effectiveness of our educational programs. It is mandatory that we advance more rapidly than in the past in the process of identifying and developing the full capacities of all our citizens.

Generally recognized in accord with our supportive philosophy of education is the realization that effective teaching is the core of any school program. It is also recognized that this task is largely dependent upon accurate knowledge of the learner's personal characteristics which include his potential, his interests, and his ambitions. Recognition of these individual factors, along with the adaptation of instruction and the provision of facilities and healthy environment for learning, provide for the motivational factors necessary to individual adjustment and learning. In addition, it is recognized that realistic self-direction on the part of the learner relies on a continuous understanding of himself in relation to potential, opportunities, obligations, and responsibilities in our society.

GUIDANCE AS A FACILITATING PROCESS

Guidance, as a major facilitating process in America's schools, supports the generally accepted goals of our society and the basic philosophy underlying educational aims of our schools. The counselor's work in the school's guidance program is developed and carried out on the following premises: (a) a total acceptance of the dignity and worth of each individual child as a human being, (b) the recognition of individual differences among children, (c) the right of each individual to exercise freedom of choice, and (d) the importance of each to develop to the maximum of his abilities.

Within the framework of these premises the counselor's work is in the main carried out through a counseling process, with individuals as human beings rather than with individuals as members of a specific group. However, the unique characteristics, experiences, problems, and concerns of the individual emanating from various backgrounds must be taken into account in this process. For this reason, special attention to the dropout is taken into account by the counselor as his work is carried out in the context of the guidance program. Such special attention requires that school counselors and other special personnel be cognizant of the total resources within the school and its environment. It also requires that the guidance program, in its facilitating effort, join forces with the total school staff to examine the characteristics of dropouts, to determine dominant patterns influencing identified characteristics, and to develop an operational pattern of guidance appropriately organized to facilitate the successful development of children and youth.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF DROPOUT CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics of dropouts have been shown to be as complex and varied as the human organism itself. No single characteristic or pattern of characteristics has been found which will identify all potential dropouts. However, research has shown that there are varying combinations of a number of identifiable characteristics descriptive of factors related to the act of dropping out of school. Generally, these identifiable characteristics include low marks,[3,4] low measured ability to do school work and to read well,[5,6] being overage for grade,[5,6] behavior patterns requiring disciplinary measures,[7,8] possessing a record of poor school attendance,[9,10] exhibiting low levels of emotional and social maturity,[11,12] and membership in families with a history of low economic status, educational advancement, and job status.

A predominant developmental pattern in the school history of the dropout serves to indicate a pattern of deterioration with respect to achievement (as indicated by school marks) along with erratic attendance and behavior as the potential dropout progresses through school. Furthermore the complexity of dropout characteristics for any group tends to be related to the grade level at which the dropping out takes place.

> Pupils who drop out during the ninth and tenth grades possess a combination of the above-mentioned characteristics which appear in greater number and degree than is true of the eleventh- and twelfth-grade dropout. In other words, it appears that pupils who possess a larger number of these identifiable characteristics tend to drop out as soon as it is legally possible to do so, while the decisions of eleventh and twelfth graders to drop out appear to be based on a less complex combination of factors. This points to the need for greater action on the part of the school personnel at the elementary and junior high school levels to prevent the formation of patterns of behavior that lead to early high school dropout.[13]

Attention should also be drawn to those many "psychological dropouts"—persons who do not physically and legally terminate their formal education but withdraw and "underachieve" in school tasks. For them, staying in school is less threatening than separation. Even though such pupils experience an intellectual marking of time, they may believe that the "diploma reward" is a calling card in the world of work. For them, disappointment and disillusionment await high school graduation.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM

In light of this brief examination of the school as an organization of society, the purposes of our schools, guidance as a facilitating process, and characteristics of dropouts, what are the general considerations for the organization and administration of the school's guidance program?

In an attempt to provide for the organization and administration of guidance programs to meet the above challenges, organization "models" will be ignored in favor of general considerations which may be applied to a school and its community, whether large, small, rural, or urban.

General Consideration Number 1

For an effective program of guidance, administrative leadership must demonstrate a personal effort by providing the support for adequate budget, professional staff, facilities, and research. Effective administration will depend to a great degree on the following prerequisites for the school guidance program:

1. A program of guidance services must be staffed with fully qualified school counselors.
2. Each school counselor must have a thorough knowledge of the various functions of the instructional program and other pupil personnel services, as well as how these functions relate to the total program of the school.
3. Lines of communication must be established between the counselor and other school staff members.
4. Responsibilities and functions of the counselor must be defined and communicated to the entire school professional staff.
5. Lines of administrative authority and of staff relationships must be established as a design for efficient program operation.

General Consideration Number 2

The program of guidance services must be coordinated with the responsibilities of the instructional staff and the pupil personnel staff, which includes the school psychologist, the school social worker, the school nurse, the child accounting and attendance worker, and other special personnel. As with other special problems, the dropout can best be assisted through the combined effort of all special services available.

General Consideration Number 3

The program of guidance must provide for orientation activities ranging from preschool parental conferences to transition from school to post-high school life. Such orientation activities provide the vehicle for articulation of school programs designed to aid in educational and vocational exploration and planning. Group guidance approaches for the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools should be planned on a developmental task basis appropriate to the personal integration of each individual.

Reports on general characteristics of dropouts reviewed earlier tend to indicate that the decision to drop out of school is a result of an accumulation of influences and experiences up to that point. Influences of school, home, community, and personal characteristics of the individual all seem to have a bearing upon the dropping-out decision. For this reason, the school guidance program should begin early with a preschool parental orientation program. Such a program should be designed to provide parents with information and an understanding of the school and its offerings. Throughout the elementary grades provisions should be made for frequent parental conferences which concentrate on the achievements, limitations, and adjustments of the child to the school program. Such conferences may be supplemented by home visitations which provide for the school's understanding of the influences of the home. Periodic reports on progress in school and on the child's development should be a regular part of the school's guidance program. Particular attention should be given to transition points, such as movement from elementary to the junior high school and from high school to college or the world of work. In addition to regular individual conferences with the child, the school should supply the home with information indicating opportunities in the curriculum and the extra curriculum which may be available to the child.

General Consideration Number 4

The program of guidance should base its activities upon the identified characteristics of the school population and of the community as a whole. In this way major emphasis can be geared to local conditions as they relate to the dropout problem. The Great Cities Programs, the Cleveland Hough Community Project, the St. Louis Program, and many others exemplify the variation of attention given to specific problems as identified to the locale in which they exist.

Particular attention should be given to the social and economic characteristics of various sectors of the community as well as the community at large. The percentage of college-going students, the percentage of students about to enter occupations, and the percentage of students participating in various curriculums should be a basis upon which the guidance program is developed and carried out in order to identify, relate to, and be of service to potential dropouts. The particular attention which has been given recently to the "social dynamite"[6] element of our larger cities provides an example of the attention which should be given to community characteristics. Characteristics of rural and suburban areas should be considered as well in the development of services to youth in order to assist them to persist and achieve in school and personal development. Upon the identification of the community characteristics and of the school, official group programs providing for field trips and other real life experiences should be planned as a part of the regular curriculum offerings of the school.

General Consideration Number 5

The program of guidance services should include specific techniques to identify and accommodate to the needs of all children and youth who exhibit characteristics identified as related to the dropout.

1. The testing program should assist in the identification and diagnosis of pupils experiencing learning difficulties.

2. Test data and other information should serve to provide direction for the establishment of remedial programs for the potential dropout.

3. Individual data entered on a cumulative record should provide a developmental pattern of pupil behavior which will aid in the study of each potential dropout.

General Consideration Number 6

The guidance program should provide for a mandatory exit interview for each individual who expresses a desire to leave school. Such interviews may serve a variety of purposes:

1. The student may be assisted in reviewing his reasons for choosing to terminate his formal school experience.

2. The student should be encouraged to explore the consequences of his choice to leave school, and alternatives to dropping out of school as a solution to the problem.

3. For the student who has made the decision to leave school, available sources should be identified in the school and the community.

4. The dropout should be made aware that the school is ready to accept his return after dropping out if his situation indicates the return to school is desirable or necessary.

(While the last point above certainly is not true of many school situations, it has been recognized that the school's responsibility does not necessarily end with withdrawal or graduation. As example, both Conant[6] and Gardner[14] recently have reaffirmed the importance of vocational and educational counseling services for all youth until at least the age of 21, whether they leave school prior to graduation or graduate from the twelfth grade.)

General Consideration Number 7

The guidance program should identify and establish working relationships with out-of-school resources which may offer specialized services not available within the school.

1. All individuals planning to leave school should be made aware of services provided by the state employment offices. School guidance personnel should seek to take advantage of referral, testing, vocational counseling, and placement services of state employment offices for both part-time summer opportunities and for entry job placement. Guidance personnel should seek to develop close working relationships with government employment offices and other agencies to which identified youth can be referred.

2. The school should maintain information and working relationships with family agencies, service clubs, religious organizations, and professional associations to which pupils and their parents may be referred for special help.

3. The school should make available to school leavers information pertaining to opportunities in vocational-technical schools and adult education.

A DESIGN FOR THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR'S WORK

Any outline of general considerations for the organization of a school's guidance program as it may relate to the dropout concern would be incomplete without a specific design for the work of the school counselor. For administrative purposes, the work of the counselor is specifically related to a series of identified major activities. In order to relate the work of the counselor to general considerations for program organization, six major areas of responsibility should be considered.[15] These areas should make up the core of any guidance program and should be organized to facilitate the growth and development of all children and youth from kindergarten through post-high school experiences.

Major Area Number 1—Counseling

Counseling may be defined as professional assistance given to an individual which helps him make wise choices, assists him in utilizing his potential, and aids him in becoming self-directive. From this definition, it is evident that counseling is not merely advice giving. This is the service that requires a great amount of skill and constitutes the major duty of the counselor.

In public schools most counseling is related to educational and vocational concerns. Most students need help or information in making a choice among alternatives. In dealing with educational concerns, the counselor assists the pupil in planning an educational program commensurate with his abilities, needs, and interests. Students continuing their education beyond high school are assisted in selecting a college, gaining admission, and applying for scholarships or financial aid.

At the very latest, counseling should begin in the early junior high school grades, with specific attention to the identification of achievement and behavior characteristics of the potential school dropout. The relationship developed with the child by an understanding and skilled professional counselor, along with the interpretation of personal and general information, provide an avenue for the youth to develop realistic self-insight. Often, it is the selection of an appropriate curriculum with understanding teachers which makes the difference between the child's staying in or dropping out of school. Most dropout studies indicate that the dropout has felt that he has had little opportunity to talk with an interested adult about concerns of a personal, social, or educational, or vocational nature. From the early junior high school age through graduation, counseling is to be considered a continuing process which provides for learning, for self-understanding, as well as for realistic educational and vocational planning.

Some students need help in assessing their major aptitudes and in securing information about the world of work. The complexities of a highly mechanized society require diverse talents and special abilities. Pupils need assistance in selecting meaningful and realistic life goals. The trained counselor provides this necessary assistance. Within the public schools some pupils need counseling regarding their relationship with others. Some have problems related to the drives of adolescence while others need help in order to cope with an unstable environment. A small percentage will have problems of such depth that extended therapy is needed. The counselor refers these to available specialists.

Although there have been many proposals for an adequate counselor-pupil ratio to carry out the counseling function, the required ratio should be dependent upon many factors in the school and community. Such factors include incidence of problems, availability of other specialized personnel and community assistance, and the nature of the school and its environment.

Major Area Number 2--Group Procedures

Group procedures may offer expedience in dealing with concerns common to large numbers of pupils. The group approach is particularly suited to pupil orientation. Each time a pupil makes a change in environment some assistance should be given the individual in making this change.

Counselors in schools use a variety of techniques to assist pupils in making the transition to the next level of education. In cooperation with teachers and parents group meetings are arranged for all incoming pupils. The school program is described in detail. Following these meetings, parents are invited to the school for group and individual conferences with counselors and teachers. At the junior high level this series of meetings would be followed by the counselor assisting each pupil in planning for his high school program.

A second phase of group techniques used by counselors in the schools involves providing experiences and information necessary to intelligent personal planning. Examples of such services are short units relating to occupations and group conferences designed to explore problems common to an identified group of pupils. Counselors also frequently use group procedures at the senior high level for imparting information about colleges, scholarships, and vocational opportunities.

Major Area Number 3—Testing

In order to know something of the characteristics of individuals and groups, schools secure valid data on each pupil. Tests are one device used in this process.

There are two major reasons why counselors and teachers should be concerned with studying students: (a) To develop an understanding of students in order to provide them with needed help; (b) to help each student to understand himself, to grow in ability to solve his own problems effectively, and to achieve educational goals commensurate with his abilities.

The counseling program in schools utilizes test data to serve the above purposes. Counselors utilize test results directly in (a) counseling with students for decision making, (b) assisting students in selecting a vocation, and (c) helping students choose a school for further education.

Major Area Number 4—Services to Instructional Staff

The counseling program, as emphasized earlier, seeks to facilitate the work of the instructional staff. Counselors maintain a complete and up-to-date folder of information on each pupil. This information, along with the counselor's special skills in interpreting behavior, can assist teachers in developing a better understanding of their pupils and in adapting instructional experiences to individual students. Briefly, the counselor is the person to whom teachers can go for help when they want to understand a pupil better.

The second duty of the counselor in this area is formal and informal in-service training. Most teachers have neither the time nor the training necessary for effective counseling. When teachers need help, the counselor assists them in interpreting behavior and in improving their skills in understanding students.

The counselor's third duty in this area is to counsel pupils referred by teachers. It has been estimated that approximately 20 percent of all pupils receiving counseling in the secondary schools are referred by teachers.

Major Area Number 5—Services to Administration

Since the counselor is in a unique position to identify the needs, interests, and goals of pupils, he renders valuable services to the school administrator. The counselor summarizes data, makes studies, and presents information to the administration. Dropout information, ability and achievement data, and follow-up reports of students served by the school are necessary if the administration and board of education are to provide a quality educational program.

Counselors are in a strategic position to provide liaison with the community and to serve a public relations function. Because of his contact with parents, employers, and community agencies, the counselor often interprets the school program to the community.

Major Area Number 6—Placement and Follow-Up

The counselor's concern for pupils does not end immediately when the pupil leaves school. Since education seeks to prepare youth for effective adulthood, the school must assist the pupil in taking the first step into the world of work or to a higher level of education. Likewise, the school should seek to evaluate its effectiveness through planned follow-up studies of graduates and dropouts. The counselor has a major responsibility in both areas.

Major Area Number 7—Providing Educational and Occupational Information

Because of the counselor's special training and because of his educational and vocational contacts, he should provide for a planned program of dissemination of vocational and educational information. A library of educational and vocational materials should be readily accessible to the student, teacher, parent, and the counselor. Generally a file of such materials along with a career display is maintained through the school's library. The material in such a file is constantly provided to the students for the purpose of bringing factual information concerning job opportunities, personal and training requirements, employment trends, educational information, and other data to the attention of the student. In addition, a procedure should be developed for the provision of educational and occupational information to teachers so that such information may be incorporated into projects and areas of study to which they are pertinent. While the counselor should be charged with the responsibility for the selection, provision, and the development of procedures for disseminating occupational and educational information, this is no less a responsibility of each teacher who has a genuine concern for assisting students to relate their educational experiences to present and future goals.

In the context of this paper a description of organizational structure for the guidance program has been ignored in favor of some general program considerations and major areas of the counselor's work. By design, an attempt has been made to emphasize the role of the guidance program and its potential contributions to the problem of the dropout.

Does the guidance function work? Does it contribute to the purposes of American education? During the past several years, schools with organized guidance programs employing qualified school counselors have been studied to determine the results of their work in terms of student outcomes.[4,16] The findings of these studies reveal the following:

Because of better course selections students made fewer curricular changes.

Individual students were helped to solve specific problems.

There was an increase in the percentage of students who were planning additional training beyond the high schools.

A greater percentage of the student body made plans for their vocational future.

The student dropout rate decreased.

There was an improvement in the schools' relationship with the parents and the community.

The students had better knowledge from which to make educational and vocational decisions.

The evidence indicates that an organized program of guidance, properly staffed, produces results in favorable pupil outcomes. Among the beneficiaries is the potential dropout, whose rights as an individual are guarded, whose development is ensured, and whose opportunity is enlarged.

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The Cooperative Role of the Counselor

IN WORKING WITH TEACHERS, OTHERS IN PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES, AND COMMUNITY AGENCIES IN IMPROVING SCHOOL HOLDING POWER

Bruce E. Shear

The title of this paper contains two words which state very clearly the appropriate role of the counselor: He needs to be "working with" the others listed in the efforts of the school and the community to provide worthwhile and acceptable education for a wide variety of children and youth.

The implication here is particularly important. To be really effective, any school program which is planned and carried on to increase holding power must be a "total" school program. It cannot be a fragmented approach, the "pet" project of a single group in the school or of the school in isolation from the community. I would venture the opinion that there are some highly financed projects going on in schools, well advertised state-wide or even nationally, the objectives or outcomes of which many on the school faculty would be hard put to describe. Likewise, there are situations where a demonstration-type project is well under way in one school, or a few schools, of a district, with almost no communication about it to other school staffs of the district. Sometimes effective and tested new practices for encouraging a pupil's interest and assisting his progress do not filter from one classroom to another within a school.

In an article, *The Counselor and the Dropout,* Hoyt[1] makes two assertions related to the counselor's role: "First, the school counselor cannot possibly be so effective in reducing the dropout rate as most educators believe him to be. Second, the counselor can become much more effective in this area than he typically is." Both of these were well demonstrated in a six-year Holding Power Project conducted by the Bureau of Guidance, New York State Education Department, 1954-60, with the cooperation of 89 local school districts. A report[2] of this project indicates that—

> All members of the staff affect the holding power of a school. . . . Although this project, for obvious reasons, was conducted through the good offices of the counselors in our cooperating systems, in only rare situations can contact with counselors alone effectively counteract the forces moving a student toward premature departure. At the very least, if any measurable improvements are to occur, counselor efforts must be buttressed and blended with those of the remainder of the faculty.

In relation to Hoyt's first assertion, then, it is almost dangerous to assign or relegate too large a responsibility for the reduction of such a school and social problem as early school leaving to counselors or to any other single group in the school. The danger lies in becoming satisfied with a partially successful attack on the problem rather than pushing on to the more effective attack that would be possible under a broader program with greater staff participation, and in the school trying to "go it alone" rather than seeking the active cooperation of community groups. As for the second assertion, one way for the counselor to become more effective is through his contribution to cooperative staff efforts; another is through his own use of the contribution of others to strengthen his counseling effectiveness.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are many ways in which counselors can work with teachers in a program to improve holding power. Actually, these ways should not be considered "special ways" or parts of a "special program" to cut down on the number of dropouts. In any school system committed as it should be to the principle of universal education through the secondary school, the programs and services needed to assure this ideal are regular parts of the efforts to serve adequately a pupil population of widely different abilities, backgrounds, aptitudes, interests, and aspirations.

The ways the counselor works with the teacher can be grouped in three "relationship" areas. First, he is a resource person for the teacher, furnishing certain kinds of useful information about individual pupils, groups of pupils, appropriate community resources, and about educational and career opportunities and requirements which are related to the classroom work. Second, he depends on the teacher, in turn, for information about pupils and for assistance in helping pupils plan and progress. Then, third, counselors and teachers work together, joined often by other staff members, on school or system-wide programs and problems. In addition, the counselor's own unique relationships with and assistance to pupils and parents affect the work of the teacher—just as good teaching affects the work of the counselor. In short, the counselor-teacher relationships are mutually dependent, cooperative, and supportive, and the same can be said for the relationships of the counselor with others in the school or in related community agencies.

Within the over-all school program or in a particular emphasis such as the reduction of early school leaving, the counselor cannot, however, be all things to all people. His best contribution can come within a well-defined and delimited area. Others in pupil personnel work with teachers in quite similar "relationship" roles, in other well-defined and delimited areas. The school nurse-teacher, for instance, in an adequate and effective school health program, relates to teachers in the areas of pupil health status and health education in very much the same ways as the counselor does in the areas of pupil educational progress and career planning.

Others in pupil personnel, including the attendance teacher, the school social worker, and the school psychologist, may relate to teachers more often in particular problem situations than in areas of more general concern. A weakness often noted in the contribution of pupil personnel services, singly or as a team, is this heavy concentration on problems. This approach is important, but if used exclusively it can result in limiting greatly the potential pupil personnel contribution to the school's over-all program of teaching and learning. As emphasized in a policy statement of the Council of Chief State School Officers,[3] "All staff members in pupil personnel services should function in cooperation with other school staff members in translating the work with individual pupils into action for broad educational planning."

These same ideas of definition, delimitation, and cooperative sharing of responsibilities apply as well between school and community as within the school. This is true in many aspects of curriculum and instruction as well as in the areas of guidance and adjustment. Community awareness, community support, and community participation are some necessary ingredients of the total effort to provide the kind of a school program which will really furnish an appropriate education for "all the children of all the people"—more appropriate and acceptable to more of them than are now getting their full share.

DESIRABLE COUNSELOR RELATIONSHIPS

The general discussion so far has attempted to bring out the desirability of the counselor's cooperative role in relation to school and out-of-school personnel. Now, more specific situations relating to a holding power program will be used to illustrate desirable relationships. These situations will be drawn from various phases of a holding power program such as studying the dropout problem, identifying the possible early school leavers, improving the guidance program, school program adjustments, pupil personnel, and community resources. It should be noted, however, that these illustrations are quite selective, not intended to give comprehensive coverage to any phase or to all phases. The purpose here will be to use program references in order to bring out role concepts.

Studying the Dropout Problem

The dropout problem, as a national or state-wide problem, has been given considerable study. Certain localities have made serious attempts to isolate and describe such aspects as extent, causes,[1] and effects of a high incidence of early school leaving. There is considerable background literature, including some descriptions of "corrective" programs, for study by school and community representatives of any local school district wishing to make a serious approach to this problem. Recent research summaries[5] and bibliographies[6, 7] are available to ease the burden of searching for data and materials pertaining to the dropout problem.

With all of this information available there is, however, a considerable pertinence for a local school district to study its own dropout problem, not only from a school standpoint but as a social and economic problem of the community. The dropout study can be used to construct the local picture of status and needs and also to arouse local interest and enthusiasm for corrective action. Both school and community personnel need to get a feeling for the problems of the "dropout groups," both the "potentials" and the "actuals." As Green[8] has said, "Perhaps the greatest contribution of the dropout study, as a matter of fact, is that it leads naturally into so many areas of school and community life that need the serious study of people in education."

Local studies, however, should not be so exhaustive that they become exhausting. The study must become not the end in itself but the beginning of a program of planning and action. Groups whose programs will probably be affected by the results of such study should be represented and active in its conduct. The English teachers, for instance, will be more likely to recognize areas of adjustment necessary in their own program to meet the needs of potential dropouts if they have had a real part in gathering and studying thoroughly the kind of information pertaining to such needs.

Counselors (and others in pupil personnel) are ready sources of information valuable for dropout studies. Some of them have research competencies to contribute in the design and conduct of these studies. Generally speaking, however, their role in dropout studies should be one of participation and contribution rather than one of conducting the study with a little help from others. It is quite often not very productive for one group to make a study which points out changes needed in the programs of other groups. As the dropout problem involves much more than guidance, the study of the problem should involve many others in addition to counselors. In instances where counselors are designated for leading roles in dropout studies, it should be well understood that they are carrying out this responsibility as members of the school staff or the school and community group, and are not working merely within the realm of their guidance functions.

Identifying the Early School Leavers

One phase of the total holding power program in which the counselor may play a coordinating role is the systematic screening for identification of possible dropouts. He is the person in the school most closely associated with record information for all of the pupils. He works closely with the teachers of pupils for whom he is the counselor and with others in pupil personnel services. He is quite logically the central figure in an activity in which information maintained about the pupil plays an important part.

A number of studies of dropout characteristics have led to lists of traits and circumstances which seem to predispose pupils to early school leaving. Most of these lists have many of the items in common. Some of them[9] have been subjected to a certain amount of validation. The *Pupil Holding Power Data* form,[10] used as a yearly screening device, proved to have considerable predictive value. Through its use, about 80 percent of the male dropouts were identified as possible early school leavers at least one year before withdrawal, and 70 percent of the female dropouts were so identified. In this particular study, the characteristics found to be most predictive of early school leaving were age, grade retardation, learning rate, and the pupil's interest in school. Those of little predictive value included physical size, health, and school-to-school transfers.

In the Holding Power Project the counselor often completed the *Pupil Holding Power Data* form in schools where the project group was small. However, in the larger school districts the forms were more often completed by a teacher or group of teachers well acquainted with the pupils. The counselor coordinated the process, helping teachers get information from pupil records, but here again teacher participation in the screening process often led to greater teacher involvement in prevention activities.

In addition to the systematic screening process, the identification of pupils predisposed to early school leaving must be an ongoing process started early in the school life of the child. As Eckerson and Smith[11] indicate, "The emphasis is on the early recognition of intellectual, emotional, social, and physical strengths and weaknesses, on developing of talents, on the prevention of conditions which interfere with learning, and on the early use of available resources to meet the needs of children."

Identification is a process in which teachers, pupil personnel staff members, parents, and community agency representatives all must take an alert and continuing part. All of these people, as well as counselors, must be sensitive to early indications that pupils need help. Early and appropriate referrals should be made for the study of pupil problems, with this followed by cooperative planning and assistance in remedial actions. Early and continuing contacts must be made with the home.

There are many who advocate that the counselor be the person in the school who coordinates or focuses the efforts of all those involved in assisting a pupil in a problem situation. This infers that referrals be routed through the counselor and that he in turn be involved in scheduling of case conferences, contacts with community agencies, the interpretation of case study reports, and assistance to teachers in the classroom implementation of recommendations. Within my concept of pupil personnel functioning, I am inclined to disagree with this view of counselor role. To have the counselor do this is to take him away from his proper functions just as he is so diverted when engaged in such other activities as making master schedules or sponsoring a pupil activity group. The coordinating functions discussed here are pupil personnel functions and they should be carried out by a person with a definite assignment for coordination of pupil personnel services.

Improving the Guidance Program

The counselor is, of course, a central figure in improving and broadening the influence of the guidance program. In these areas he has leadership, consultative, and resource roles to contribute. Some years ago Hartley and Hedlund,[12] on the basis of a study of pupil reactions to the guidance program, concluded that "in the better guidance programs the responsibility for guidance service is centralized in a trained counselor or counseling staff, but the program is decentralized in function so that the efforts of the entire school staff, with its variety of training and experience, are brought to bear on the student's problems." Wrenn [13] has more recently indicated an important role for the counselor in helping teachers. He states:

> Another major emphasis of counselor-educators is the contribution of the counselor to teaching staff, administration, and parents. Here the focus is upon a respectable fraction of the counselor's time being

> spent in consultation with teachers, counseling with them, contributing to their better understanding of student characteristics and the meeting of normal classroom problems which involve pupil-teacher relationships.

Other symposium papers discuss the important areas of organization of guidance, working with parents, and counseling, so I will limit further consideration of improving the guidance program to two ideas which I think have special relationship to improving holding power. (Many specific activities for expansion and improvement of the guidance program are listed or summarized briefly in Holding Power Practices Bulletins 1-6.[14]) The first of the two ideas concerns the desirability of the much greater use of what I will call the "guidance conference." This is a conference of counselors and teachers of a pupil to review and discuss the pupil's current status and future plans in respect to education. In contrast to a "case conference," it is not problem oriented, and there is the possibility that many guidance conferences would be made more effective through pupil and parent participation.

It is my belief that fuller use of the guidance conference would be one of the best ways possible to improve the effectiveness of the guidance program. This belief is based on my own experiences with the technique, having been involved in a program of such activity over a four-year period in two quite different school systems. In these situations as a counselor, I met each week with seventh-grade, ninth-grade, and eleventh-grade teacher groups, each group on a different day. During the year we "guidance conferenced" each pupil in each of these grades. Perhaps that was overdoing it, but I know of no better way of acquainting teachers with pupil characteristics, of sensitizing them to pupil needs, and of planning for and following up on program adjustments and other ways of making the pupil's school experience most interesting and profitable.

Perhaps a wiser use of the guidance conference technique would be to use it more extensively in selected situations. One or more such conferences for each pupil identified as vulnerable to early school leaving would be most appropriate. Many of the conferences on possible dropouts would, no doubt, be followed by more intensive pupil study and case conferences involving a wider group of personnel. Perhaps the reason why more guidance conferences are not held is that having said they should be useful in case of potential dropouts we must say, "Why not also for the gifted, the handicapped? And what about that poor neglected group of pupils in the middle?" So, we just can't find the time—for this and for some other guidance improvements that seem quite fundamental and promising.

The issue of time is the other topic which I had in mind to discuss under improving guidance services. We often emphasize the need for the counselor to spend a major part of his time in counseling. Wrenn is quoted above as asking for "a respectable fraction of a counselor's time being spent in consultation with teachers. . . ." These ideas imply for me that when pupils are in school, the counselor should be counseling with them most of the time, some of this time being spent on direct preparation and follow-up reporting. This leaves many of the supporting activities, including much of the teacher consultation, for "after school hours." The difficulty here is that teachers often are not available for very long after pupils leave and counselor hours are likewise restricted. Allport,[15] in speaking of personal attitudes of guidance specialists or teachers, calls for one of them to be "commitment." I would like to witness much more of this attitude in the efforts to improve guidance services and to keep more pupils in school for a longer period of fruitful educational experience. Such commitment was inferred in a report of the Demonstration Guidance Project[16] which said:

> There were remarkable improvements in the scholastic work of some of the boys and girls, but we did not discover any dramatic devices or inspirational slogans that would keep these pupils at their studies year after year. Whatever was accomplished came as the result of hard, unceasing day-in and day-out work by teachers, counselors, and supervisors, as well as by students themselves.

In a 1950 report of a study of 60 school guidance programs in New York State, Hartley[17] said of guidance, "It has little effect on the curriculum and on teaching method. . . ." That guidance should have noticeable effect is seldom questioned, but where does the responsibility lie for such failure? What is the role of the counselor (and of others in pupil personnel services as well) in relation to curriculum and teaching? Wrenn[13] indicates that "several educators believe that the counselor must enter more actively into curriculum development in terms of his knowledge of changing student characteristics and needs." Bruner[18] writes, "Interest in curricular problems at large has, in consequence, been rekindled among psychologists concerned with the learning process."

School Program and Curriculum Adjustments

Curriculum planning, school program adjustments, changes in classroom methods, decisions on school requirements and procedures, and the provisions for out-of-class activities—all of these call for the continuous study of pupil characteristics and needs in education. The counselor and the other pupil personnel staff members should have a large contribution of information and insight to share with others in school planning, because of wide knowledge of the pupils and their environments. They can bring a much needed type of staff resource to the process of school improvement.

Although some of the pupil personnel staff members may give direct assistance in the preparation of curriculum materials, such as group guidance and health education units, it is not their function to be curriculum-building specialists. Neither are they classroom supervisors or general administrators of school program adjustments. The failure of guidance to have much effect on curriculum is as often the failure of others to take information made available through guidance activities (and other pupil personnel activities) and "go on from there." This failure may still be, in part at least, as Layton[19] indicated some time ago, "because of the vested interests in the curriculum adhered to tenaciously not only by educators but also by parents." In contrast, we need initiative, boldness, and imagination in experimenting with new ideas and in testing both the old and the new in education. Counselors and others in pupil personnel must be ready to give resource assistance to experimental programs attempting to meet pupil needs. They must also take the initiative in testing the effectiveness of their own program activities and in searching constantly for promising new practices.

Time permits only brief mention of four other areas of school program adjustments, closely related to the work of the counselor, which offer particularly promising possibilities in a program to increase holding power. First, I am very much in agreement with the ideas expressed by Conant[20] concerning "individualized programs." Twenty years ago, as a school counselor, I worked long and hard on one of those extraguidance activities, master schedule building, so that it would be possible then to individualize pupils' programs. Johnny should follow, from year to year in high school, a program of studies and other activities which seems best for him on the basis of careful appraisal, counseling, and planning. It is *his* program, rather than a labeled track, in which he may become most interested and effective.

Second, because of the great influence acceptance and belonging seem to have on holding power, more attention should be given to the extent, kinds, and costs of school activities, in order to provide for wider pupil participation. In a study by Thomas,[21] for instance, "activities were found to be the factor most related to whether or not the student finished high school. . . ." It would appear that activities offer one area of strong reinforcers to encourage school persistence. Counselors should encourage and assist possible dropouts to include participation in an appealing activity as part of their school experience. They might, in addition, encourage activity sponsors to try particularly hard to provide satisfying experiences within their group programs for dropout-prone pupils.

Another program modification which has much promise for certain pupils is the combination of work and study. Counselors often have quite definite roles in such programs, for identification, selection, group guidance, parent contacts, counseling, and otherwise assisting the pupil to make the employment situation a guidance experience. Participating in such programs, possible early school leavers often come "to recognize their need for academic skills in today's labor market."[22] They are able to see more readily the significance of what they are learning to what they wish to do.

Finally, the behavioral approach might be considered in planning some school adjustments in relation to the dropout problem. This would imply that we would be "less concerned with specifying the characteristics of students who drop out than in studying the kind and frequency of the reinforcements that are available for school leaving in comparison with other reinforcers and with frequency of avoidance and punishing conditions that exist in the classroom."[23] I think that it would be quite pertinent to focus less on pupil characteristics as the predisposing factors in early dropout and emphasize more the inadequateness in the school program or perhaps the community situation. That is, instead of studying dropouts to find that X percent of them were at least two years retarded in reading, why not study the reading program to find what it produces, and why it fails for so many pupils? Instead of saying that of the dropouts studied one-half had low academic ability and another one-third expressed disinterest in school, why not be able to say that a study of the school program indicates almost no provisions for the teaching of slow learners and little attention being given, for a particular group of pupils, to relating school subjects to jobs?

Pupil Personnel Services

Throughout the paper there are a number of references to the relationships of counselors with others in pupil personnel services and with community agencies. In school systems where two or more of these services are represented, it is quite important that the functions and relationships of each be clearly defined.

> Each pupil personnel staff member should have a clear understanding of his own areas of responsibility and those of each of the other services. . . . Definition, delineation, and interpretation of functions and areas of responsibility should be extended also as between in-school pupil personnel services and related resources in the community.[21]

Within the school, the counselor works very closely with others in pupil personnel in study of and assistance to the pupil. Common use can be made of general pupil record information, with further exchange and interpretation of pupil information peculiar to one or another of the services. Counselors and other pupil personnel staff members should recognize readily the need for cross referrals and all services should participate in the wider use of case conferences. In the area of identification of possible dropouts, the counselor should work very closely with attendance, school health, school psychological, and school social work personnel. Staff members in each of these services have pupil contacts, and many have home contacts, in which they may observe early indications of dropout tendencies.

Another area of function which counselors have in common with others in pupil personnel services is the interpretation of pupil characteristics to teachers. In relation to a program to improve school holding power this is a very important role, particularly in the case of children from different cultural or deprived backgrounds. Counselors and others in pupil personnel services need to understand the influences of varying backgrounds and should have the opportunity to share this understanding, and acceptance, with teachers.

After a series of visits to homes of children from different cultural backgrounds, one counselor expressed his reactions this way:

> I found that despite the socioeconomic level of the family there was a common denominator throughout—that is a genuine interest of the parents in their children. They all have similar fears, hopes, and anxieties. The major difference between the lower socioeconomic families and the higher socioeconomic families is that the higher groups know *somewhat* better how to cope with their problems. The lower socioeconomic families wish to help their children with equal zest, but I don't believe they know how to go about it. I found that within the housing project there are hard-working parents who in intelligence, ability, and many other traits important to the community rival and surpass those living in the "better" sections of the city. This was a warning to me and should be a warning to the other counselors that it is *very* unsafe to judge an individual or his family by the part of town in which he lives.[25]

Various other pupil personnel staff members, because of differences in competencies, approaches, and contacts, have a further understanding of different aspects of the problems of culturally different or disadvantaged parents and children. Together, they should be able to bring to teachers a much better understanding of the behavior, interests, intellectual functioning, background deficiencies, traditions, and aspirations of these children. Then, as Riessman[26] says, "A sound cultural understanding should enable the teacher to establish a much better relationship with the deprived child who is typically antagonistic toward the school and, on the surface at least, unmotivated to learn."

Community Agencies

The school is the social agency having primary responsibility for the education of the child. Other community agencies have primary responsibilities for other social problems. In a community it is well to have divisions of basic functions clearly understood. It can help to overcome inefficiency due to duplication and overlapping and also affords a clearer picture of inadequacies and gaps in the provisions for community programs and services.

In the guidance program, counselors should identify and distinguish between those activities which are best performed in the school and those for which provision is made in other community agencies. Then there should be good articulation between the related school and out-of-school activities. If out-of-school resources are inadequate in some area of responsibility, it is not necessarily a cue for school assumption of the activity. Rather, after cooperative study of where the activity can be carried out best, more support should be given to adequate provisions in the appropriate agency. One good example of this is the well-worked-out cooperative agreements which exist in some states between the schools and the Employment Service. However, the Employment Service often needs more support to make this program really operative for young job seekers.

These ideas are equally applicable between other pupil personnel services in the school and related services in other community agencies. Attendance teachers carry on case work procedures to seek out and help to remedy the causes of non-attendance. They are not parole officers. School psychologists carry on psychological evaluations to study the causes of pupil problems in school. They may give brief supportive assistance to pupils as the school seeks to bring about adjustment to the school program. Other individuals or groups in the community should be available, however, for further clinical assistance. School social workers have functions which are not intended to duplicate those of social workers in other agencies. School nurse-teachers assist in health appraisals and carry on health screening but refer defects to parents for follow-up. Just because some community programs are inadequate is no reason to attempt to "bootleg" these services through the schools. School budgets are largely just for education. They cannot support other community services without neglect of their own responsibility for providing adequate and effective education. This does not mean, however, that school people should not work hard with others to promote adequate services in the community.

In the case of all these services, including guidance, there is great need for in-school coordination which extends also to over-all coordination with other community agencies. Three or four services should not be contacting the same agency, especially about the same potential dropout. Referrals, also, must be efficiently handled and properly channeled, both from service to service and between school and community agencies. Actually schools do not, in effect, refer pupils to outside agencies. They encourage and assist parents in making the necessary contacts for suggested follow-through.

CONCLUSION

I can never remember where they are kept, but about once every five years, in rummaging through old folders, I come across a couple of penciled pages, written originally for my own amusement. Under a date line of June 1932 the text, in an attempt to simulate a news report, starts off something like this: "Last night Mr. H. H. Perkins, president of our Board of Education, presented diplomas to 50 members of the graduating class of 1932." Then, after some further reporting of the high quality of the local school system and its products, the news article ends, but the further comment is made, "and no one present gave much thought to what had happened or would happen to 50 other boys and girls who had started high school with this class but who were not on stage tonight."

These pages have been tucked away again and again over the years, not because of their particular usefulness but because I rather look forward to running across them the next time. On each occasion I find it rather amusing to think of the younger Me, a couple of years out of college and full of hope for better things in secondary school education. It also rather amazes me each time to think how much argument and how little accomplishment has taken place. There were many graduations last June in high schools where all too little thought was given to this problem, schools still graduating about one-half of the class.

Looking back over the more recent of these years, however, it seems that we were making some significant, even though limited, holding power advances when we became sidetracked for a while by the epidemic of Sputnik spasms in education. Now again, however, there seems to be more and more general recognition of the importance of "both ends" of the manpower spectrum and of the need for the fuller development of *all* human resources. "The quest," as Bruner[18] indicates, "is to devise materials that will challenge the superior student while not destroying the confidence and will to learn of those who are less fortunate. We have no illusions about the difficulty of such a course, yet it is the only one open to us if we are to pursue excellence and at the same time honor the diversity of talents we must educate."

So, the extent and seriousness of the school dropout problem is again causing us, the general public in addition to the educators, to reassess the possibilities of corrective measures. It is well that this is becoming a topic of increasing *public* interest and concern. Under these conditions, as in the case of other concerns such as better education for the gifted and appropriate education for the handicapped, the schools will be encouraged, prodded, and assisted to act.

It is also apparent, as one looks back over about 30 years of considering the dropout situation, that this problem has gone through about the same stages as many other social problems. As I knew it in the beginning of my school teaching experience, it was in the rationalization stage. School people, for the most part, were rationalizing the school's failure to hold many of its pupils. Since then there has come the recognition stage, then a rather long stage of assessment, and now we seem to be getting to the point where there is enough general public concern (and fright) to assure some concerted action. Counselors should be ready to "work with" others in the school and community in mounting a real offensive against the dropout problem.

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Working With Parents

SCHOOL-COUNSELOR-PARENT-TEACHER INTERACTION: A DEVELOPING PATTERN

Daniel Fullmer

With more and more of the responsibility for the prevention of school dropouts being placed on the shoulders of the school counselor, the time has come for us to recognize that a new efficiency is needed in the counseling program. In Oregon we have been searching for such an increased efficiency, and we believe that we have found it. Our discovery requires nothing really new in the objectives of counseling and does not involve anything revolutionary from what is the prevailing practice in counseling. It does involve a new emphasis, some fresh techniques, and it does raise some significant and provocative questions, especially if our society is going to face the issue of school dropouts squarely.

In this paper I shall describe very generally our Oregon experiment, discuss briefly the more dramatic observations of our work, and share with you the full impact of the most explosive question to be raised in counseling in recent years, a question based directly on our findings of the past two years.

But first a simple statement concerning the most basic reason for most decisions to leave school: Youngsters feel lost; they are no longer learning, and they fail to respond to the guidance offered them by significant adults in their lives—parents, teachers, counselors, clergymen, and others. Their knowledge, measured in content, seems so limited as to make it appear futile for them to continue in school. They drop out.

In counseling—and in teaching too, for that matter—we can approach the solution to this kind of dropout problem by an understanding of the *process* of education. The educational process is not confined to assimilation of content (or knowledge); it is internalizing and grasping the relationship between content and life. More important, it is content as applied by the learner to his own immediate life, and it is characterized by direct experience instead of vicarious experience.

Content is often forgotten unless it is intermittently reinforced. Successful reinforcement helps content become a part of life—a part of the process that Tiedeman and Field[1] said one takes with him when he leaves the learning experience.

If we neglect the significance of the educational process we have content and conditioning; we attain liberation (freedom and responsibility) only through the process of education. It is the latter we should attempt to reinforce in counseling. In order to do so, we must really understand life or, at any rate, the forces most influential upon life. For normal children this is not difficult, but the potential dropout lives a life that is not normal. It is up to the counselor to find out what keeps this life from being normal, and for this he must look beyond the school.

AN EXPERIMENT IN FAMILY GROUP CONSULTATION

In Oregon this search led us to a new means of applying the process of education to potential dropouts. We call it family group consultation, for that is exactly what it is. It is not therapeutical, because our focus is not on personality reorganization; we merely consult, observe, and advise. It is a way of investigating, examining, and extending the involvement of parents in the educational process of a child. We use the family unit because it is the primary unit in our culture and because it is the largest single influence (however passive) on the young child.

Family group consultation gives us an opportunity to study a child's perceptions of reality. We have found it a very productive way of working with parents and youngsters.

Our procedure consists of meeting with four or more families and their youngsters in group sessions for two hours per week. The first hour is spent with the entire group, using counseling teams of two or more working together. The second hour is spent with parents in one group and the youngsters in the other. We now have a number of cooperating schools also involved in group consultation experiments. We also regularly invite teachers to observe us.

For the first nine months we held our sessions on the premises of and in cooperation with the Department of Psychiatry, University of Oregon Medical School, in case any need for a medical backstop arose. In fact, it had been the Psychiatry Department which had referred all our original group to us. At least one member of each family had been referred to the Medical School [illegible] some other agency, and our experiment grew out of these referrals, as the school had no service appropriate for them. None of the referrals had had any mental disorders, and all of them had children in school.

At no time during the first nine months did any need for medical or specific psychiatric attention arise. All situations were handled effectively by our own staff, so we moved the group to our Counseling Center.

Though we have learned some disturbing things during our two years of group counseling, we are now convinced that we have the talent to do something about dropouts, both physical and psychological. Our approach, stated simply, is to organize potentials and capabilities into more productive patterns of behavior and learning. This can be done within the existing structures of the school and of counseling.

An example of the kind of experimentation we do can be seen in the case of Bea and Jay. Bea and Jay were 14-year-old fraternal twins, adopted at the age of two, and the only children in the family. They came from a consultation group in a cooperating school. Their behavior was disturbed in that they acted out by lying, cheating, stealing, truancy, underachieving, etc. They were also potential dropouts.

After discovering details of their behavior in the home and at school, we were interested to see whether Bea and/or Jay could respond to normal signals. I took them with me twice a week for an entire working day. None of the staff or students were given any instructions or specific information concerning their presence. We wanted Bea and Jay to find out what normal people are like. (We did assign a special enrollee counselor to each of them so that we could obtain certain measurement data and establish one formal interpersonal relationship.)

This procedure lasted seven weeks. Neither youngster exhibited any antisocial behavior while with us. In fact, they became very helpful, particularly as messengers. This kind of success makes us feel that this sort of experimentation may be a constructive way of exposing youngsters to a new set of environmental parameters.

The point is, both Bea and Jay were capable of socially acceptable behavior. Both parents were confronted with our observations and conclusions. Six months later the family had responded so well to our diagnosis and consultation that they voluntarily terminated the program. The father had made significant modifications in his own behavior, and the mother wholesomely supported family efforts to work together.

Much of the behavior a youngster exhibits is his interpretation of the signals he receives from significant others. Some parents are not able to guide this interpretation, so that working with other families helps both parents and children learn from one another.

Cases like that of Bea and Jay indicate that school counselors working only on the school end of a youngster's life may be severely handicapped.

Note that our counseling service included no descriptions of highly specific behaviors; we only examined and practiced patterns of behavior. We believe that, with adequate preparation, school counselors can do family group consultations with confidence and success and do these within the prevailing school framework.

One of our most disturbing discoveries is that attitudes and values are transferred not by example and precept but by a subtle process of "experiencing" between the youngster and the significant adults in his life—parents, grandparents, teachers, and clergy. A most revealing discovery—and we have seen it clearly in our experiment—is that patterns of self-defeating behavior have transferred themselves through three generations! This discovery was a real shocker and made us ask ourselves how best we can protect a yet unborn generation from exposure to and absorption of a most undesirable behavior pattern. It appears that the influence responsible for these self-defeating attitudes is transferred *exclusively* from adults. None of our youngsters indicated any evidence of peer group transfer; this kind of youngster belongs to no peer group.

The "experiencing" process at work in such youngsters seems to have notable forces operating within it. Most prominent is the phenomenon noted by Skinner and mentioned by Shoben [2]—the behavior of the significant adults (including especially those in the school) seemed to reinforce the least integrative elements in the youngster's life. The reinforcing agents were those examples and precepts expressed in the behavior—both verbal and nonverbal—of significant adults.

Conclusions we have reached thus far indicate that family group consultation promises to become an effective counseling practice as a family "decay" preventative or retardant. It does not, however, promise to reconstruct homes which have already "decayed."

The basis for this conclusion stems from our success in working with children who are *situationally disturbed* rather than *emotionally disturbed.* (Most of the behavior manifested by youngsters at home and at school is not emotionally disturbed behavior, at least initially, unless we are willing to go so far as to say that children are born emotionally disturbed.)

A LOOK AHEAD

And now we come to the most significant of the horizons that seem to lie ahead if we are to meet the problem of dropouts and their parental relationships squarely. This particular horizon is interrogative in nature and is based on our observations of cause of dropout and its potential transferability to a succeeding generation. We feel that society is soon going to have to decide whether, in the best interest of the individual youngster, he should be removed from the problem family and placed in a more healthy environment. The question is, Will society accept this kind of move as an acceptable means of solving an ever-growing serious problem? This is a profound issue with deep social and religious components. The primary unit of our culture is still the family and we must protect it from erosion wherever we can.

To illustrate why we think that such a decision will have to be made, let us consider the *R* family which has two boys. One acts out, the other acquiesces. Both the father and mother have some college education as does the grandmother who lives a block away in her own home. Both boys could be called infantile, immature, etc.

Through our group consultation experiment, we have observed behavior patterns in the entire family for more than two years. The behavior is best characterized by its level of productivity—marginal vocationally, self-defeating interpersonally, and effective only in perpetuating itself. We have already seen how these net effects have been passed from generation to generation, and we have had a panoramic view of how the transfer crosses three generations.

The prognosis is quite grim in terms of what the next generation will be like. An issue like this should not be shelved until the next generation. How might we interrupt and influence one generation in the *R* family so that the next generation has a chance to break out of the self-defeating pattern of behavior, without violating all that is sacred in our family tradition? Is society prepared to let us place the boys into another environment if we feel it advisable?

And this raises another point for us to consider here. Guidance of this kind must be sound and, consequently, must be made by sound persons. We should not forget that we draw most of our counselors from the teaching ranks. In light of this, we should also consider seriously the contrast of behavior expected in counselors as compared to teachers. As Waller [3] pointed out more than 30 years ago, teachers maintain poise and dignity in the classroom through an image of highly restrained personality expression, dominated however consciously by a fear that things could get out of hand; in other words, children can be dangerous and should be regarded with a certain amount of distrust. (The late President Griswold of Yale reinforced this belief by maintaining that even parents fear their children.)

We expect counselors, however, to maintain an unconditional regard for children and to develop warm interpersonal relationships with them.[4,5,6] We should be alert to the possibility, in view of this, that the counselor's role will be rationalized in the image of the teacher behavior model. There should be further concern that such teacher-counselor behavior will reinforce the least integrative elements in a youngster's behavior, as these professionals make the world uncomfortable by confronting the student with a blunt view of interpersonal responsibility for which he is usually not psychologically ready.

SOME ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

The above questions have been raised by our experiment in Oregon. I think that it is important to stress some other observations at this point.

1. Family group consultation has been more successful with families from the lower socioeconomic strata than from the middle and upper middle class strata. (There is apparently some status in having an audience that listens. Besides, the middle class seems insulated against the forces of influence.)

2. Teachers who have observed the family consultation sessions expand their repertoire of perceptions of the behavior of youngsters and learn the effectiveness of "changing" their own classroom signals.

3. Youngsters from subcultures with attitude and value norms in conflict with the norms supported by the school present the most difficult problem for teachers.

4. Teachers and counselors seem to prefer working with youngsters most like themselves. Unfortunately, these are the youngsters that least need the help.

5. Teachers and counselors, like everyone else, have cultural blind spots.

6. As a result of the considerable changes in family patterns evolved during this century, the counselor must face and deal with new realities; he cannot, as Wrenn[7] so aptly describes it, withdraw into an "academic cocoon." Family group consultation is one way to confront these realities.

These sorts of situations have been propelling society and education into more and more abstraction and disinterest in terms of the individual. If counseling and teaching become overly abstract, they will become impotent. It is similarly so with parents and other significant adults and the influence they wield or do not wield on youngsters.

CONCLUSION

We must find ways to help our students discover meaning, to differentiate themselves from their environment and from one another. We must prevent youngsters from becoming lost in a multitude of abstract choices, from becoming passive, and from withdrawing in utter defeat or frustration. Dropping out of school, of course, is the ultimate expression of such defeat or frustration on the part of the student.

Family consultation experiments have helped us in doing these things. Though specific activities can and should vary, we feel that in all such group consultations the teacher and the counselor should be involved directly with the family.

Situations in real life experiences are so consistently reinforcing in negative ways for the dropout and the potential dropout that any counseling programs designed to counterattack them have to be just as direct, strong, and active in the opposite direction. They must also involve all of the significant others in the youngsters' lives. We should not forget that the economic and social diversity of our nation has become so complex that youngsters may find it totally incomprehensible, and as far as school is concerned, drop out.

Much of the school's present effort to help the dropout, whether physical or psychological, reinforces the least integrative elements in a youngster's life. Teachers and counselors must recognize and admit that their basic mission *is* influencing youth. If we are to assume the social responsibility incumbent upon us as educators and counselors,[3] we must actually interrupt and influence behavior in positive and productive ways. Family group consultation, it appears to us, is one of the most promising and readily applied of these.

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Counseling Services for Out-of-School Youth

Harold J. Reed

The topic suggests several questions, the answers to which would surely reflect one's point of view, define any perceived problems, and structure the problem-solving process. Some of the questions which arise are as follows:

- Why are youth expected to be in school and who expects them to be there?
- If potential dropouts remain in school until they graduate from high school, will they be as well qualified as those who remain in school voluntarily?
- Are out-of-school youth those who were expected to be, or one hoped would be, in school? And for how long?
- What kinds of counseling services are implied? Vocational, marital, educational, adjustment, religious?
- Who is responsible for the counseling?
- What are the goals of counseling?
- Do some people and some problems receive higher priorities than other people and other problems?

A discussion of any topic relating to out-of-school youth would need to be as comprehensive as the subject is multidimensional. That phase of the total problem area defined by the title of this paper must of necessity be further structured by setting certain limits within which the topic will be treated—

1. The subjects of our discussion are those out-of-school youth, age 16-21, both graduates and nongraduates. They are those who have terminated their formal education without utilizing at the time of withdrawal all of those educational services that could reasonably be expected to aid them in the development of their potentialities. It is not assumed that all of these youth have problems requiring counseling service nor that schools are the best source of help for those who need counseling.

2. Emphasis will be placed on educational and vocational, or career, types of counseling rather than other kinds of counseling. It is recognized, however, that the individual behaves in an integrated fashion and that if one facet of the personality structure is under severe stress the total behavior pattern will be affected.

SOME DYNAMICS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

Program planning of necessity must rely on a clear statement of the problem and an understanding of the needs of those who are victims of situations causing the problem. The needs of out-of-school youth are multiple and complex and adults have not always been sensitive to these needs. However, counseling services, to be effective, must be based on the needs and perceptions of the subjects and a short discussion of them is in order.

Young people are sensitive to the attitudes of adults. The education of children who, for any reason, have been deprived of the opportunity to take advantage of their cultural heritage—the development of individual potentialities—is being studied and attacked on a broad front. Some are referred to as culturally deprived, and others, as academically deprived. Value judgments are made. The culturally deprived are often accepted. It is unfortunate but somehow all right to have had an underprivileged environment. It is not all right to be academically deprived, to do poorly in school, to be in the lower half. One is somehow lazy if he does not "keep up."

A prime factor among early school leavers has been identified as academic failure and/or disinterest in school. Leaving school is therefore a defensive mechanism. It would be expected that such people would not have objective and clear-cut goals in mind. Aimless wandering, boredom, trial and error behavior, and general indecision characterize their activities. Occupationally they are highly mobile, poor employment risks, and expensive to employers. Another kind of frustration is added to an already impressive list. These people must not only adjust themselves to a new world of jobs and competition; they must gain new self-insights, restructure themselves, and realize that effort alone in such things as English II is not enough. Somehow the adult world has not made quite clear what must happen by age 22 or 23 before they can be accepted as apprentices and experienced workers or acquire employable skills.

Persistence studies show that about one-third of high ranking high school graduates do not enter college, and one-third of the highest 30 percent on mental tests and grade point average do not persist in college.[1] A substantial percent of able high school students do not graduate, while many persist beyond reasonable expectations. These so-called inconsistencies would suggest that persistence is related to factors other than academic ability and achievement. Encouragement from parents, especially mothers, has been researched sufficiently to indicate that attention should be given to parental involvement and counseling.

Many young people, the potential school leavers, are hopeful in the eighth grade that something good will happen as a result of the encouragement and admonitions of their parents and teachers. During the ninth grade they begin to wonder and by the tenth grade there is a growing conviction that the removal of pressures to learn only means that the teachers have given up on them. And yet the "potentials" keep trying. They really want to stay in school, contrary to a common belief that these young people cannot wait until they are 16 to leave school. Potential tenth-grade school leavers with a half-year of retardation are on the average 16 by the end of the first semester, but they do not leave school in many areas until more than a year later, during the summer between the eleventh and twelfth grades. But leave they do. It is hoped that their yearning for an education will bring them back to school as adults.

Students in adult education have unique problems. They are older and many were early school leavers. Understanding their motives is essential in counseling them and planning programs for them. Some of their unique motives have been identified as follows[2]:

1. As voluntary, part-time students they take the initiative to attend school for self-improvement.

2. Although they want to improve themselves, they do not always know how.

3. Self-reliance is overworked to the point that adult students are afraid to admit their needs and are afraid to ask questions in class.

As the rapid increase in knowledge finds its way into curriculum content, the parent-child study relationship shifts from a helping one to an embarrassed and resentful one. There is so much more to know, such as the newer math and science programs. Parents may compromise their lack of knowledge with undue stress on attitudes. For example, a majority of high school students have given negative responses to incomplete sentences structured to elicit feelings about such things as the world and politics. Such reactions are not easy for parents to accept, and students react accordingly. Are youth manifesting sublimated hostilities? Underachievers have been found in some studies to demonstrate deep-seated hostilities. Some thought might be given to the nature of such inevitable conflicts. Modifying value systems and changing behavior patterns on the cognitive level have not been too successful. Knowing this, what are some known clues to changing behavior? As one feels understood and accepted he seems willing to appraise his problems in terms of past experiences and future goals. An insecure person seldom perceives a coercive, judgmental person as accepting and enhancing, nor is he inclined to consider alternative courses of action until he perceives his environment as warm and understanding. Behavior changes are made willingly when perceptions change, when individuals feel important, and when they are involved in decision making. Betty Ellis[3] found that comparable male high school graduates who continued their education were counseled more than those who terminated their education.

Many occupations today do not and probably will not satisfy all workers performing those jobs. They are just not that stimulating. We assume that making a job choice will promote some degree of actualization, but many menial jobs will have to be performed by overqualified workers. Employers may have to relax their criteria of good job attitudes or at least consider some of the reasons why workers would want to feel good about some jobs. Counselors may have to help both parties.

In spite of recent attempts to place equal value on all subjects, nonacademic ones are considered somewhat second class. "The idea that certain goals of education can be pursued only in certain courses is false," according to Barlow.[4] General versus vocational education forces a dichotomy where none exists, and college preparatory versus terminal or vocational implies a meaningful distinction which is, in fact, artificial. "It is the intent of the individual," according to Barlow, "that makes art, machine shop, music, history, electronics, or any other subject either vocational or general." The test of any learning is the degree to which it provides students with new varieties of behavior. English facilitates oral and written expression, not necessarily just to help students get into college. The emphasis placed on hard core academics to the exclusion of cultural courses and/or courses designed to provide employable skills inevitably results in placing discriminatory values on the latter. This emphasis is largely unnecessary and produces a corollary effect on the students, often with devastating results. Unrealistic goal aspirations requiring several years of readjustment, incorrectly referred to as maturation, are often necessary before the individual "settles down" and "finds himself."

Only 15 of 100 who start school go on to finish college, yet most teaching and counseling appears to be aimed at the academic needs of these 15, whoever they may rightly be. Only 4 percent of all public school funds is spent on vocational training.[5] A $75,000 language laboratory scarcely meets the criteria of equal opportunity when the facilities for continuation training consist of four classes in four corners of the auditorium of a boys' club without benefit of a chalk or a blackboard—and this condition exists in a high school district that is frequently referred to as exemplary.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR COUNSELING SERVICES

The assignment of primary responsibility for counseling out-of-school youth is not easily made. Not all youth workers would agree with John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation, that high schools provide continuing vocational and educational counseling for all youth who leave school short of college until they reach the age of 21.[6] The basic issue is whether the individual is still a student or whether he is a worker. It therefore follows that educational institutions, public and independent, and employment facilities, training and placement, are the two agencies which should have primary concern. Identification of the individual's problem may help to determine responsibility.

Clarification of the problem would be simplified if youth, age 16 to 21, were homogeneous, but individual differences in maturation, educational and cultural backgrounds, and goal aspirations make for significant variations. It is possible to generalize only from past experiences. Historically the schools and the government employment services have assumed the major responsibility for educational and occupational adjustment. It would be correct to say that both services are needed, but certain elements suggest that the schools are more effective while others think that the employment service can function more adequately.

If one of the functions of counseling is to help the individual take the next step, whatever that may be, then it follows that in the transition from school to work the school counselor should help the individual to synthesize all relevant facts and experiences, to evaluate them in terms of career goals, and to plan a course of action to get from where he is to where he wants to go. A good vocational development program in the schools would have provided numerous opportunities for students, teachers, counselors, parents, and laymen to make appropriate contributions to the vocational maturity of all students. If the school leaver is to enter the labor force as a career worker or as an interim worker pending more maturity, it is reasonable to expect the institution that knows and understands the individual, the school, to help him mobilize all of his resources and experiences to the pursuit of his goals. Such a position does not assume exclusive jurisdiction, but primary responsibility seems obvious. Other services, including those of the Employment Service, would be introduced at appropriate points in the process of vocational development.

When the individual becomes an experienced worker instead of an entry worker, the Employment Service would be indicated as the "prime contractor," with the schools and industry consulted in matters of training and program counseling. With minor variations, this same pattern for both fiscal and administrative matters could be followed at state and national levels.

The duplication of youth services, as with adult ones, is expensive and generally less effective. If such a policy as the one developed above were approved at the local level, more funds would need to be made available to the schools, but at a saving to the source of those public funds. There are always local conditions that force a modification of general guidelines, but initially a basic pattern needs to be developed at all levels with one institution assigned primary responsibility for providing and coordinating necessary services.

Most problems have a grey area, and the one of jurisdiction is assuredly no exception, due to the fact that a school leaver may never be a permanent dropout. As soon as a student leaves school he is considered by some to be a potential worker and therefore to become the responsibility of the Employment Service for counseling and placement. Others would contend that the situation is temporary and that what he really needs is some good educational counseling to return him to school. Others would propose a combination of work and school. Who then has jurisdiction?

Some research shows that it would be unrealistic to expect school leavers to resume their education. Greene[7] compared 48 dropouts with 23 graduates 10 years after they left school. The graduates were found as having a much better record than did the dropouts in military training, trade and correspondence schools, apprenticeships, and adult education. The Los Angeles City Schools[8] surveyed all of the 1962 adult high school graduates and found that 73 percent had attended no school during the interval between day high school and adult high school. Even though 10 to 12 percent of the diplomas in high school districts are granted through the adult and evening programs, one should be cautious about rationalizing the dropout rate by generalizing that most of the school leavers will return.

COUNSELING SERVICES

The needs and characteristics discussed in the previous section can be related to services intended to satisfy those needs. It is recognized that the mature individual requires only information and exploratory opportunities while others require broader and deeper services to effect a wholesome adjustment. The distinction, however, is a quantitative one.

Counseling as a Problem-Solving Method

By whatever standards, it may be safely assumed that an adjustment problem exists for many out-of-school youth. Of several problem-solving approaches, providing counseling services is significant because some problems have their beginnings in misperceptions and in other factors with functional origins. It may be necessary under certain conditions to manipulate the environment so as to reduce the number of tension-creating situations, but these areas are not necessarily the concerns of the counselors. Counseling on the other hand can be expected to provide guided experiences which will promote self-realization through exploratory and decision-making opportunities.

Counseling as a helping process may be forfeited, some would reason, when an individual rejects the institution that has been providing services, namely, the school. It is similarly reasoned that when a child puts aside childish things he has become a man. Sober reasoning concludes, however, that education is a lifelong process and that while maturation and independence are essentially synonymous, maturity moves the individual toward independence but certainly never toward isolation. The essential question is not whether to counsel or not to counsel, but it is to decide how, where, when, and by whom counseling should be done.

All educators assume some responsibility for the adjustment of individual students, and the curriculum is adjusted to some degree to meet individual differences. With the assumption of more than casual responsibility by the schools, administrators have assigned to the counseling services certain functions designed to meet needs other than academic learning ones.

It is difficult to separate counseling and guidance services from the objects of counseling—the services to be provided to facilitate, for example, the educational and vocational adjustment of individuals. Some would contend that counseling and curriculum are the same or interrelated to the degree that both counselors and teachers can provide the same services. However, as the scope of education has broadened, the division of labor has become inevitable.

Counselor Functions

Within the scope of this project it will be assumed that counseling services will be performed by counselors whose functions are generally defined as—

1. Identifying the potential dropouts among the school population.

2. Determining from surveys the characteristics of early school leavers and the community.

3. Consulting with staff, parents, and community representatives on educational, occupational, and other programs for out-of-school youth.

4. Counseling with out-of-school youth.

5. Coordinating all school and community projects planned for out-of-school youth until age 21 or until they have become regular members of the labor force.

SOME SUGGESTED SERVICES

Develop Orientation Materials

The current public interest in the holding power of the school is more than an academic one; it is laden with emotional content to the degree that even those least suspected overgeneralize and frequently argue their case with unverified assumptions and unreliable data. It is even difficult to communicate. A need exists in most communities for a publication directed to youth-serving agencies and individuals which will analyze some of the assumptions and generalizations frequently made about the dropout, such as the following:

1. The quality of relationship established between the teacher and pupil is a very significant factor in the holding power of the school.

2. Every pupil should graduate from high school.

3. High school graduation contributes significantly to the prevention of juvenile delinquency and to the improvement of chances for job success.

Conduct Characteristics Studies

Experience has shown that a good way to start is to acquaint educators and citizens with the essential characteristics of the youth population and the facilities in the community for meeting their needs. Follow-up studies of school leavers are essential.[8] With obtained data the school and community can evaluate their programs and cooperatively plan any indicated corrective action. The survey also indicates to former students that the school is still interested in them, a most essential element. Surveys should not suggest that the school is judging but that it is consulting with them and inviting them to share with the school their thinking and relevant experience. To show good faith, school and community groups might write to them periodically on all appropriate subjects, including sources of counseling and training opportunities.

Occupational surveys conducted in cooperation with community groups will locate employment opportunities, determine local labor trends, and indirectly solicit aid in the total effort.

Educational facilities studies will identify training opportunities other than colleges. School and adult counselors are generally in need of such information.

Organize and Assist Community Efforts

The 1960 White House Conference recommended "that more use be made of community, district, and state councils and committees, broadly representative of business, agriculture, government, industry, labor, the professions, schools, parents and youth, to facilitate the transition from school to work." Other appropriate recommendations were made for aiding out-of-school youth. The essential point is that all of the community resources must be mobilized. If the basic assumption made at the beginning of this paper is valid, the school will need to take the initiative. The process will also need to be one of working *with* and not *for* youth. Youth need to exercise their privilege of participating in all planning that pertains to their welfare.

The dimensions of the youth unemployment problem have been defined by the U.S. Department of Labor as well as state and local agencies. These agencies[9] have also recommended action steps, many of which call for a broad community effort at the local level with the schools assuming an active leadership role.

Surveys of local characteristics will identify needs and involve the schools and industry in a cooperative effort to plan appropriate educational and employment opportunities.

Just as educational and career guidance units for exploratory purposes are needed at the beginning of the high school years, so should appraisal and reappraisal services be available for all ages. Dr. James Conant[10] has proposed that the educational experiences of youth must be tailored to fit their needs for their life's work. There should be a smooth transition from full-time schooling to a full-time job whether that transition be after the tenth grade or after graduation from high school or college. It would therefore follow that counseling should be available in all circumstances where a transition exists.

Some communities[11,12] establish a joint operation under a central coordinating agency to offer an intensified and comprehensive team service including family services, placement and training counseling services with opportunities for assessment and appraisal, plus supporting counselors from industry, labor and lay agencies.

Wisconsin assigns vocational education to independent vocational education boards with taxing powers.

Counsel Parents and Adults

Society has always assumed that maturity and age are positively related. When an individual becomes an adult it has been reasoned that he is capable of making important decisions for himself. With the rapid changes in the labor force and the economy adults may need counseling more than youth, but the ratio of counselors to adult school counselees or frustrated adults in the community reflects a lack of interest and responsibility for the adult population.

Counseling in adult schools has not kept pace with the increase in adult school enrollments. Counselors are needed to evaluate and analyze previous educational, military, and work experience as well as to administer and evaluate G.E.D. or other assessment instruments to help individuals plan training programs.

The Pinellas County schools in Florida provide adult guidance centers to serve students and citizens. Counselors interview and counsel prospective students for vocational and adult education programs and refer counselees for further assistance when deemed advisable.

The New York City schools are demonstrating the effectiveness of structured programs for out-of-school unemployed youth. The Urban Youth Service Corps provides work and training for youth between age 16 and 21.

Not only are out-of-school youth frequently considered as independent adults, but parents are most generally ignored as significant influences in the thinking and planning of youth. Opportunities for parents to study the characteristics of restless youth and to participate cooperatively in planning programs have proven to be very effective in holding many potential school leavers, as evidenced by NDEA-sponsored projects. Late teeners still respect their parents' judgment, and efforts should be made to involve parents in working with out-of-school youth.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the opportunities for counseling with out-of-school youth to their advantage and to that of society are limited only by the degree of initiative and enthusiasm demonstrated by responsible citizens. Creative programs are in operation, and many more are indicated if some of the youth problems of our time are to be resolved.

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PART III

COUNSELING

Counseling and Dropouts – General Considerations 176
Dugald S. Arbuckle

Social Status Differences – Counseling and Guidance for Disadvantaged Youth 193
Edmund W. Gordon

Guidance personnel concerned with the school dropout problem ask themselves a number of questions. What guidance services which we now provide need to be expanded or improved for these youngsters? Which services need to be provided in greater depth or intensity? Which activities are relatively unimportant for this group? What is the most effective role the guidance counselor can assume in working with potential dropouts?

Previous papers have considered general guidance services and approaches in view of the contemporary problem and the prospects facing these young people. This section consists of two papers which will focus attention on the counseling relationship as it pertains to dropouts.

The counseling relationship has long been cited as the vital core of any program of guidance services. Guidance experts have long agreed that counseling interviews are pivotal and all other guidance services, peripheral. There may be a bit of disagreement about what fraction of the counselor's day should be spent in "face-to-face" counseling interviews with students, parents, and other staff members; however, 50 percent of the time is frequently mentioned in the guidance literature. Of course, considerable variation exists among school districts, as well as among school counselors, in how far above or below this index counseling is provided. Seemingly, the counselor's familiar plaint, "Give me more time!" is motivated by the realization that the amount of personal counseling assistance he is able to provide his counselees falls far short of their actual needs. State education departments, counselor educators, and textbook writers have assiduously studied the problem and developed rule of thumb student-counselor ratios which purportedly ensure that each pupil receive a minimal amount of the counselor's time. Some of these ratios, in fact, now operate on a sliding scale and vary with the nature of the school community or the degree of problem depth or scope the guidance program is to serve. (These ratios are discussed further by Stripling in Part IV.)

The two papers in this section do not specify counseling formulas or ratios. They do, however, in concert with others in this volume, strongly imply that the student who is a potential dropout will profit considerably from (a) more attention to this need on the part of the counselor and (b) more time in counseling interviews with the guidance counselor. Several follow-up studies reported to the NEA Project on School Dropouts, incidentally, have revealed that a large proportion of school dropouts wish they had had more guidance and also greater opportunity to discuss extensively their decision with counselors while they were in school.

Still another aspect of counseling that is considered here involves the counselor's perception of his role. The counselor can view the potential dropout and the purpose of the school and its guidance services in different ways. The papers by Arbuckle and Gordon present two essentially contrasting views of the potential dropout, his world, and the counselor's appropriate place in it. Arbuckle feels that the counselor should minister to the individual's resourceful inner self; Gordon, on the other hand, feels that the counselor will be effective only insofar as he intervenes and brings about significant change in the student's stultifying, frustrating environment.

In the first of this section's two papers, Arbuckle starts by examining the current wave of concern over dropouts and argues that the onus is grossly misplaced. Youth who leave school prematurely are labeled ("dropouts") and are castigated as inadequate; too often, Arbuckle avers, it is the *school* that is inadequate. The dropout problem results from our compulsory system of education that fails the demands of society as well as the needs of the individual. Therefore, we would be much further ahead if the energy and focus of "stay-in-school" campaigns were redirected to "change-the-schools" movements.

The school counselor, Arbuckle says, should be concerned with the student's general education and his learning of his responsibility, to himself and to others, *not* with the adequacy of his job preparation. Employing an existentialist frame of reference, Arbuckle feels that the counselor, primarily, should help the student gain perspective of himself as an individual. Counseling should not help the pupil adjust to society or to fight it. Rather it should help him come to realize who he really is, what his potentialities and limitations are, and what goals in life and living he chooses to accept for himself. If an individual student, a potential dropout, is facing difficulty as a result of environmental circumstances, the counselor should not try to change these circumstances—even if he could; rather the counselor's role is one of aiding the student to understand both himself and these circumstances and to determine the degree to which he is going to permit these to control and dominate his life. In this manner the counselor assists the individual toward further self-actualization and in becoming "master of his fate."

Especially important, Arbuckle says, is for the counselor to be the one person readily at hand who can provide the dropout with a close sharing of a human relationship, unqualifiedly, warmly, and fully. The counselor, as a human being, is more important to the dropout than the counseling itself, just as the individual student is more important to the counselor as a human than as a potential dropout.

Gordon, in the second paper, advocates an interventionist role for the counselor. (Although his paper is concerned primarily with the counseling of potential dropouts from minority groups, his position could also be taken for all potential dropouts.) Gordon conceives of the guidance and counseling functions as a process of guided behavioral development and guided behavioral change. The environmental encounters and interactions of the disadvantaged are the crucial determinants for the counselor to concern himself with; counseling and interviewing are likely to be inappropriate "preoccupations" on the counselor's part as far as this group is concerned. He sees the guidance process as something the counselor provides as an "enabler." Thus, the counselor creates a psychological or physical environment conducive to the counselee's growth, but he, himself, does not bring about change through his actions or interactions with the counselee. The counselor can and should modify and utilize the environment, he holds, as well as rely on the capacity for change within the individual.

Gordon suggests that the counselor place greater emphasis on qualitative appraisal, that he design learning experiences for his counselees, that counseling, as a guidance activity, be relegated to a secondary role, and finally, that data about pupil backgrounds be put to better use by the counselor in working with them and their parents.

Counseling and Dropouts

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Dugald S. Arbuckle

It would seem that we have possibly approached the problem of the dropout in somewhat of a crash sense, in that we are running off in many directions, all breathing determination that we will do something for this unfortunate fellow whom we call the dropout, although we don't spend too much time asking him what he thinks about himself and what he would like to do about it. The late President Kennedy mentioned dropouts in his State of the Union message, and this is probably good in that it does bring the problem to national attention. However, it may tend to push people to find a cure before they know what we are trying to cure; any sort of frenzy tends to some extent to center on doing something about the symptom but ignoring the cause. It is somewhat like the concept that the way to answer the problem of unemployment is to create new jobs—if we have 7 million unemployed, provide 7 million jobs and the problem is solved. This, to me, is at best only a partial answer to the societal and human question of the meaning of unemployment in our current social structure.

The *Washington Evening Star* of March 27, 1963, has an article about volunteer counselors who are to be trained in an effort to stem school dropouts. The sponsors of this effort are Mrs. McNamara, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, Secretary

Wirtz, and Secretary Celebrezze. We can hope that their vim and vigor will be equated with some level of understanding.

Our pressure to make sure that no one drops out of school may seem to imply that in this way all of one's job problems of the future will be solved. We tend to forget that throughout our history, including today, the major reason the vast majority of mankind works is to be able to eat and have some clothing and shelter—in short, to remain alive. The question "Do you like your work?" is a rather amusing but meaningless statement to the vast majority of the world's, including America's, workers. A great many neither like nor dislike their work. They have learned to accept the idea that living and working go together. They want to live, so they work. It is only in the truly affluent society that the question "What would you like to do for your life work?" can be anything other than a cruel joke.

We may note, too, that the major reason that we give for our pressure on children to stay in school is usually the fact that this is the way to get a better job and earn more money. We have all been deluged with data on the number of dollars the young man can earn during his lifetime if he graduates from high school, as compared with his earnings if he doesn't, and on how much more he is worth if he manages to get that symbol of cultural purity, a college degree. The emphasis is pragmatic, and education in the sense of greater knowledge and understanding is seldom mentioned as the reason why one should either stay in high school or go on to college. It almost seems as if what happens to one as a result of the educational process really were of no concern whatsoever—the only important thing being the end result, the college board score, the certificate, the degree.

A further problem is that we do not seem to agree as to just who dropouts are, although we should really know by this time. The *Project: School Dropouts Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1963, quotes a recent Bureau of Labor Statistics report showing that of some 4,000 dropouts, nearly 70 percent possessed normal or higher intelligence quotients. This hardly agrees with various studies such as those reported by Brown,[1] Dillon,[2] Gragg,[3] Lenior,[4] and Hutson,[5] which generally tend to indicate that intelligence test scores of dropouts are below average. In the same newsletter, S. M. Miller is quoted as saying, at the last symposium on this subject, that dropouts are not exclusively from working class, low class, or low income families; that we are in danger of making dropouts a problem of personal inadequacy, subcultural values, and the like; and that they are neither knights nor hoods. They may be neither knights nor hoods, but studies by Dillon,[2] Lenior,[4] Rimel,[6] and Allen[7] seem to indicate that dropouts tend to live in the not-so-good parts of the city, that their parents represent a lower education group, that their fathers are employed as unskilled or semiskilled workers, and that many come from broken homes. Any group of individuals can hardly be "exclusively" anything, but I would think that the vast majority of children whom we categorize as dropouts, a la definition of the Cooperative Project on Pupil Accounting for Local and State School Systems, could be described in fairly general and accurate terms.

Regardless of the validity of the various studies, it would surely seem that the real or fancied lack of "intelligence" of the "low intelligence" group looms much larger in the school than anywhere else. A low IQ that may prove to be a disastrous handicap in school may be a very minor irritation out of school. Grades in school have no predictive value whatsoever regarding later occupational success. It is tragic that children must be taught that they have a handicap, since it is primarily a handicap only to the extent that it is believed to be one. If children who are school dropouts are alienated, sullen, and unhappy, it is not because of what they lack but because of what we have taught them to believe they lack. Most of what the school dropout can't do, including reading, he could have learned to do. A human being may often be not what he basically is but what he has learned to be. The counselor can help the client, such as the person who is a school dropout, to learn that he is somebody, but only if the counselor, deep in his bones, feels that both *he* and the client actually are somebody.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS ARE BEING ALIENATED

It would seem to me that the school dropout is a fellow who is alienated and that those of us who are involved in the professional business of education and learning have contributed mightily to this alienation. The much greater proportion of the youth who dropped out of school a half century ago were much less of a problem than those who dropped out last year, for at least two crucial reasons: they were dropping out into a more receptive world, and they had not learned that "dropout" and "failure" were almost synonymous terms. There is no doubt that many children who come into school come from an environment which is somewhat shallow and barren, but this is no reason for our providing them with a school environment which, for them, is equally shallow and barren. We say that education is for all; in fact we insist that it is for all whether they like it or not by forcing the young to attend school until they reach a certain age. Yet in that school, especially in the secondary school, a significant number of basically sound young Americans discover that they are not really wanted and that neither their teacher nor those who develop their curricular experiences seem to pay any attention to who they are, to what they have and have not, and to what they can do and cannot do, but instead impose upon them a nonsensical experience which goes under the name of education. Miller, I would think, describes the situation accurately when he says: "Secondary education in the United States is a definitely selective affair, in spite of democratic ideals of equality of educational opportunity."[8]

Barry and Wolf describe the problem that faces the dropout in more human terms when they say:

> With the accent on intellectual achievement and the world itself an intellectual frontier, he does not have the equipment to fit easily into society. He cannot readily find work, regardless of how much he wants to work. The jobs he might find tend to be dead-end. He seems to be rejected on all fronts. He cannot easily return to school, for there too his role is doubly hard—again he is rejected. The chances are great that he is retarded in his skills, probably more as a result of his values, background, and experiences than as an outgrowth of lack of innate ability. But the attitudes of other people do not distinguish between the two. He faces a bleak world, and he receives little help in understanding either it or himself.[9]

For the dropout then, the world, what it has been, what it is, and what it is to be, is a cold, a hostile, and a rather inhospitable place. The school, as his most immediate experiencing segment of that world, is the same, and tens of thousands of adults of today, those who were the dropouts of yesterday, live without the remembrance of a school in which there was warmth, compassion, understanding, and acceptance of the reality of the child. They remember it as a place of imposition, and even though some will say that they should have gone back, the school to which they "should have gone back" is an illusion. The real one is one to which they could never have gone back.

THE PURPOSE OF COUNSELING

The counselor is aware of the multiplicity of needs that face the dropout, but his particular concern is the concept that the child has of himself, and his particular and unique function is to do what he can, primarily in the way of a warm and human relationship, to help the child to move toward becoming what he *can* become, to move in a direction so that "environment" does not become some outside-of-me force to which I must numbly submit, but rather something which I can transcend, and thereby affect. The outer environmental reality may include a shrieking mother, or a harsh and cruel teacher, or a dark skin, or a female sexuality, or a stated IQ of 90; but the *real* freedom, and the *real* restriction, comes in the manner in which the individual reacts to these outer restrictions. Are they limitations with which he will live or are they the determinants of his future? Does he dominate and control them or do they become him, and so determine him?

When Wrenn[10] states that "the school could be charged with a multifold function of developing intellectual, social, and vocational competencies—perhaps in that order of importance," there is the unfortunate implication, probably not meant, that these competencies are separate and distinct entities. For the counselor and, we would hope, for the teacher, the child is a total Gestalt personality, and the function of the counselor is to help him, in his own particular way, to move in the direction in which he can make the most sense and the most use out of whatever he may have in the way of intellectual, social, and vocational competencies. This, of course, will be much more difficult if the school is seen as a reading, writing, and arithmetic factory, or a place where the truths of the past are assembled and poured into the uncomplaining minds of the so-called students, on the assumption that they are all of one kind and that we, the adults, know what is good for them. It will also be difficult if the counselor is seen, by himself and by others, as one whose primary function is the distribution of information of an educational and vocational nature. In this respect, the counselor differs from the teacher only in the sense that he has different information to dispense. The teacher tells what should be remembered about an incident in history, and the counselor tells the student why he should go to Harvard instead of the University of Massachusetts. Neither, of course, is very much involved in the learning process, and it is doubtful if the student gets anything from either one, primarily because it is a "from me to you" business, and little attention is paid to the student's reality and the student's world. This is especially so when the world of the counselor and the world of the teacher are far removed from the world of the student and the client. Since the potential dropout is one who is already speaking a different language from that used by the teacher or counselor, it is likely that communication will be difficult or impossible.

I hope that I am wrong when I think that I perceive what would seem to be a regression in Super from a self-concept, individual-oriented concept of guidance and counseling to a more bolts-and-nuts, fit-the-guy-to-the-job, he-can't-do-anything-about-it-anyway sort of philosophy. In 1957, Super made what I thought was an admirable self-concept-oriented description of vocational counseling when he described vocational guidance as—

> The process of helping a person to develop and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself and of his role in the world of work, to test this concept against reality, and to convert it into a reality, with satisfaction to himself, and benefit to society.[11]

He further stated that "in choosing an occupation, one is, in effect, choosing a means of implementing a self-concept."[11]

What seems critical to me in this description is the developmental concept of the moving person, the changing person finding out who he is, measuring himself against the outside reality, and then modifying and changing both himself and the outside to make a new reality. This is his creation, his reality, one thus which will have much meaning to him and with which he can live with some degree of harmony.

Five years later, Super no longer uses the word guidance but refers to vocational counseling as "the process of helping the individual to ascertain, accept, understand, and apply the relevant facts about himself to the pertinent facts about the occupational world which are ascertained through incidental and planned exploratory activities."[12]

It may be that I was just reading something into the former version that wasn't there or reading something into the new version that isn't there either, or it may be the Crites influence on Super. In any case, the latter statement about counseling would seem to me to be far more a noncounseling, nontherapeutic, nonexistential, and nonindividual sort of thing; it seems to be rather a deterministic, cultural view of man which sees man as one part of the culture, the world of work as another part, and the counselor as the instrument which fits the determined man into the determined world. This is, I am afraid, a rather commonly accepted viewpoint but one that I can hope we may, for the sake of simple human survival, be able to move away from. It is also a commonly accepted viewpoint of this fellow human being of ours to whom we have attached the term dropout, a fellow whom we now pursue with the enthusiasm of a guilt-ridden individual going after sin.

COUNSELING THE POTENTIAL DROPOUT

Let me, then, now try to put together a few thoughts with regard to education, a philosophy of man and the culture, counseling, and the school dropout.

General Thoughts on the Dropout

The young man or woman we know as the "dropout" is a monument to our failure to implement our stated philosophy of providing for every American child the opportunity to have an educational experience which will be best for him. It is also stark evidence of our somewhat contradictory nature, in that we talk of "freedom" and "choice," and yet we impose on tens of thousands of young people a schooling which is little better than an incarceration. In it they learn, among other things, that they are ineffective and can do little and thereby generate a good deal of hostility for society in general, and schools in particular. Later on they may become those adults who can't see any sense in spending any money on education; and since they think of education as they experienced it, this is a rather reasonable attitude on their part.

These young people are alienated *from* us, it is true, but they were first alienated *by* us. Many are individuals who would tend to be alienated from the community because they may represent a minority group, but the real tragedy is that they come to a professional school, staffed by professional, responsible, intelligent individuals, and here they find the same alienation that they find in the community. It is no wonder, then, that they really begin to believe that they are different in a negative sense.

Equally vicious is the fact that many young people only find out that they are "queer" after they go to school. They are the ones who are not alienated by the cultural mores, but the school soon corrects this. I sometimes shudder when I think of what might have happened if many of my early compatriots, going to a small schol in an "impoverished" mining community, had really had the advantages of a modern middle-class-staffed school and of modern testing, and had learned how really "impoverished" they were! Fortunately, they didn't, nor did I!

It may be that we have confused the responsibility of the school to provide the *opportunity* for a worthwhile education with the imposition by the school of an educational experience on the child. Even if the educational experience was meaningful, we might wonder if adolescent children should be forced to undergo it; when it is hateful and meaningless, it surely seems absurd that the child should be forced into it.

The actual "dropping out" of children, both those who "have" and those who "have not," is more often than not a rational action in the immediate sense, and is only irrational in the sense of what the culture does to the person who drops out of school. A century ago and even a generation ago, the young people who dropped out of school were probably the same kind of youngsters who drop out today, but movement was, in many ways, easier—and no doubt dropouts contributed as much as any one else to the development of our early West. Today, we entrap the students with a school-leaving age of 16, and then, even worse, when they finally make their legal escape from high school, if they have not graduated, they are tattooed with the name "dropout." On the basis of our current definition, about 35 percent of our adolescent youth were dropouts last year; at the turn of the century, over 90 percent were dropouts. We might well wonder about what we have done to make dropping out of school the nasty business that it has become, and how the 35 percent are so much worse off than the 90 percent.

I would assume that, contrary to what some employers say, the dropout is not really worse off than the stay-in because he *knows* less, but because his potential employer, and even more important, he himself, believes that he is somehow inferior. It is not the lack of what the ticket is supposed to signify, but the lack of the ticket that hurts him. The *Project: School Dropouts Newsletter* for February 1963 quotes John Harmon of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to the effect that businesses want employees with enough education to be retrainable, and that persons without a minimum high school education are not easily retrainable. This may be so, but I do not think that we should assume that this is simply so because they lack the skills and information which are supposed to accompany a high school certificate or diploma. In fact, the current "stay-in-school" mania may be one of the worst things to happen in education, if it deepens the fallacy that all we have to do is keep the children in the current school until they graduate, and then our dropout problem will be solved. The fact that the dropout is now the problem that it once was not is simply symptomatic of a situation in which a compulsory system of education meshes with neither the demands of society nor the needs of the human individual. I would hope that we might intensify the "change-the-schools" movement, but change them in the direction of facing the reality of the individuals who are in them, rather than regressing to a day that we think once was, which seems to be the educational policy of such individuals as Admiral Rickover of the U.S. Navy and Mr. Rafferty of the State of California.

The "underprivileged," from whose ranks most of the dropouts come, are increasingly members of a city society where most of our so-called cultural advantages are to be found, and we should not confuse lack of "culture" with lack of ability to move ahead and to be, in one's own eyes, someone. Much of our "culture" is a highly superficial matter, and it is doubtful if the cultural level of adults is improved by attending an opera at which they spend most of their time looking at others or dozing in a genteel fashion. The cultural "impoverishment" of children is not likely to be lessened by simply exposing them to great art and music without some previous effort to find out and to help them to find out just who they are and just what it is that makes sense to them. Beauty is something which comes in many sizes and shapes to different people, but to be real it must be an internalized part of the individual.

Certainly the school of tomorrow must become broader in scope and less restrictive in nature. Even vocational schools are now speaking proudly of their high standards and of the fact that only the better students can get in. They are little concerned, apparently, about the students to whom they proudly say, "Sorry, you are not good enough to come into this part of this public school, although, of course, you must keep coming to school." There simply must be some reversal of this trend in education toward degradation of human dignity, and it *is* possible to think of an educational experience which will help all children to live more effectively, with more personal security, and with a greater sense of their own integrity. Education and learning for human responsibility are the answer, not training for a job, and this is the primary concern of that individual in the school known as the counselor.

Philosophy of Man and the Culture

The counselor, while moving in the direction of cultural change, works with the student of today, in the school of today, in the culture of today. Since I think of counseling in an existential sense, let us look first at an existential view of man, and then of the counseling experience with this man.

The current cultural view of man, both social and psychological, would appear to be an empirical, deterministic, and, to me at least, somewhat pessimistic, hopeless, you're-a-nothing sort of philosophy. It puts the culture above man; it sees man as the hapless instrument of the culture. In psychotherapy, it may be Freud [13] seeing man in a constant struggle against the forces which are always there waiting to destroy him, against his own basic hostility as he says, ". . . men are not gentle friendly creatures wishing for love . . ." [14]; or it may, more recently, be Rosenfels saying, "The civilized world is in constant danger from the paranoid and criminal tendencies that it unleashes." [15]

For centuries, organized religion saw man as a soul. As the star of empirical science began to rise man became a thing, and medicine, a branch of science, saw him as a disease. The psychologist, the newcomer on the scene, wanting to be like his better-known parents, saw man as a problem. None of them really saw man as a total human being, and today's "revolution in psychiatry" is simply a dawning realization that possibly man is human after all!

The most vivid description of the end result of a deterministic society has been shown in fiction form by Orwell,[16] and from the point of view of the empirical scientist, by Skinner.[17] Both of these men see a world in which man, as an individual, with movement and freedom, and human dignity, is no more. Man has become a creature to be manipulated and directed by someone for some vague good of a society determined by someone. The counselor, in this society, is described by Michael and Meyerson, as they say, "The critical questions in counseling and guidance . . . seem to relate to how behavior is learned and how it may be unlearned or altered."[18] They would solve the dropout problem by "taking advantage of scientific principles of learning to apply effective extrinsic reinforcers to help shape desirable behavior."[18]

It is almost as if the human person were no longer a person but rather a thing. In such a society the goal of human life is to keep man alive as long as possible, although some might wonder why such a life is worth living. This is a sort of womb-to-tomb philosophy of life, in which man has given up the risks of freedom and instead has accepted, as inevitable, the security of the autocrat. In a way, it accepts what Fromm has described as the authoritarian ethic which--

> Denies man's capacity to know what is good or bad; the norm giver is always an authority transcending the individual. . . . Materially . . . authoritarian ethics answers the question of what is good or bad primarily in terms of the interests of the authority, not the interests of the subject.[19]

It is this point of view of man which seems to predominate in the current literature about the fellow known as the dropout, and very often "dropout" is used as if we were talking about a condition or a set of behaviors. Thus, when Hilliard[20] talks about "manpower" planning, one has the uneasy feeling that man, the human, is somehow being minimized. "Manpower" is people, not machines, and any planning about what to do with people carries with it the implication of the renunciation of the idea of a free society, with its chaos and problems, for a well-planned society, in which man may exist, secure and cozy, from birth to death.

Fromm describes our movement toward this deterministic concept of society in this way:

> Our moral problem is man's indifference to himself. It lies in the fact that we have lost our sense of the uniqueness and significance of the individual, that we have made ourselves into instruments for purposes outside of ourselves, that we experience and treat ourselves as commodities, and that our own powers have become alienated from ourselves. We have become things, and our neighbors have become things. The result is that we feel powerless and despise ourselves for our own impotence. Since we do not trust our own power, we have no faith in man, no faith in ourselves or in what our own powers can create. We have no conscience in the humanistic sense, since we do not dare to trust our judgment. We are a herd believing that the road we follow must lead to a goal since we see everybody

> else on the same road. We are in the dark and keep up our courage because we hear everybody else whistle as we do. (p. 248)[19]

There is, however, another view of man, a more humanistic, a more individualistic concept, in which man is viewed as the creator of his culture. It exists for him, not he for it. This existential concept views man as *being;* life is now, and man is as he is. Determinism may say to the dropout, among others, "You cannot be what you are, you must not be what you are, you just cannot *be*," but the existentialist would say that human existence is *being* and that man is the being who is there. The young man who has been categorized as a dropout may indeed be affected by the determined world which surrounds him, but he still has his central being, his existential self. He can move within his controls, and he can thereby change them.

This existential point of view is voiced by May when he says: "Existentialism, in short, is the endeavor to understand man by cutting below the cleavage between subject and object which has bedeviled Western thought and science since shortly after the Renaissance."[21] Again: "The meaning for the person of the objective fact (or the phantasied one) depends on how he relates to it; there is no existential truth which can omit the relationship." (p. 27)[21] And again: "It stands for basing psychotherapy on an understanding of what makes man the *human* being; it stands for defining neuroses in terms of what destroys man's capacity to fulfill his own being." (p. 35)[21]

Fromm is talking in existential terms when he describes humanistic ethics:

> Formally, it is based on the principle that only man himself can determine the criterion for virtue and sin, and not an authority transcending him. Materially . . . on the principle that what is "good" is what is good for man, and "evil" is detrimental to man; the sole criterion of ethical welfare being man's welfare. (pp. 12-13)[19]

Maslow is speaking about the existential self as he describes his authentic person as being one who—

> Not only transcends himself in various ways; he also transcends his culture. He resists enculturation. He becomes more detached from his culture and his society. He becomes a little more a member of his species and a little less a member of his local group.[22]

Thus, the existential view of man could not accept the concept that the ends might justify the means, since the human person and his world of reality cannot be separate, and they are not tomorrow but today. The world of work for the child is a very real world of work, and it is not something in the vague future: it is today. The "stay-in-school" campaign seems rather pointless when, with regard to the reality of the child, nothing has changed, either in his view of the world or its view of him, and, in this case, his world is dominated by the school.

Nor would the existentialist help to maintain, for the child, the myth of equality, at least in the sense that every young American child has the same chance. Even worse, of course, is the attendant myth that inequality and difference are synonymous with inferiority. Having a dark skin instead of a white skin, being a male instead of a female, having an IQ of 90 instead of 140, these may be very real outer restrictions, but the existentialist operates with what *is*, and thus, in a very real sense, helps to change what is. Excellence is within reach of all, but excellence is an inner concept of self, and it is this excellence which is missing in the vast majority of school dropouts because we have alienated them from us and we have helped them to come to believe that they are small people. They have not transcended their culture, and their fight against it seems hopeless because they have become enculturated and entrapped by it.

Choice, too, becomes an inner, relative matter. The child who can be helped to really freely choose to stay in school has immediately removed from himself some of the restrictions and impositions of that school, even though there has been no outer change of either curriculum or teachers. The very fact of choice is freedom, and this immediately changes the outer world around us. Man may live in a determined world, but he is not determined. Choice of a job, after all, in the sense of "I want to be able to choose any job I want" has always been an illusion. It is unfortunate that some American children come to view freedom and choice as "something I can do to someone," rather than as a continuing struggle by one to maintain his integrity and his responsibility. The dropout is one for whom choice has become more and more restricted, but the real restriction comes in the sense that he has allowed himself to come to believe that he is a determined victim of a determined world. Freedom and choice have nothing to do with outer restrictions. They are an inner matter, a matter of the self, of the spirit, if you will. The man who kills is usually less free than his victim; the man who hates is less free than the man who loves.

In education, the existentialist view is being expressed by Mathewson[23] when he says, "In a form of education which emphasizes development of individual potential and adaptability, narrow forms of information acquirement may cease to remain at the center of the educational target," and by Murphy[24] who comments, "The teacher must help the learner to believe in his own individuality and his capacity to learn." Vandenberg[25] also points out an existential view in commenting that education is the process of becoming oneself, that freedom is restricted when pupils are treated as objects, and that the authentic teacher thinks only in terms of the interactions of individuals who have achieved different degrees of becoming themselves.

Counselor as a Human Being

I have tried to describe, to some degree, the philosophical base from which the existentialist counselor would operate. If his client happened to be a child who was a potential school dropout, or one who actually had departed from school, the counselor would be well aware that he could not change the existence of the outer world threat, but he could help to change the degree to which it was threatening by helping the individual to come to see it as something to face, something to live with, and thereby, something which can be changed. The basic human problem is never the overt issue, but it is the individual concept of the degree to which that issue controls and dominates and determines his life. Deprivation only becomes crucial and controlling when it is of the inside as well as the outside. In a way, the counselor would help the potential dropout to make his school experience more real, not in the sense that it would become any more pleasant, but rather that it is there, and he is there, and he can make reality out of the unpleasant as well as the pleasant. One does not have to run; one only runs because one chooses to.

Nor does this counselor see himself as the provider of information, since most children who come to him are not suffering from lack of information but rather from the personal inability to make any sense out of the vast quantity of information that is constantly being poured, shoved, and stuffed into them. He would not be the sort of counselor described by the U.S. Department of Labor,[26] who would appear to be overwhelmingly a center of information. I would question the effectiveness of information in actually helping a child who is on the way to becoming a school dropout, one who is probably already alienated from his group, one who has the outer characteristics of failure, and who has probably come to believe them, one who is hostile and afraid of his self. This person, surely, needs the warmth of human closeness, he needs unconditional acceptance of him as he is, he needs to live close to security and freedom so that he can eventually come to know and to believe that they are within his grasp too.

Nor would the counselor be of the sort described by the recent manpower employment legislation, in which the counselor both "counsels" and "selects." One of these actions would seem to contradict the other.

Counseling is not helping the client either to adjust to society or to fight it. It is helping him to come to see who he really is; what he has and what he doesn't have; and what he can do easily, what he can do with difficulty, and what he can probably do not at all. This might, I suppose, be called self-actualization, and the person comes to see that the struggle for being is really the struggle to take me as I am, rather than accepting the culture's version of me. This obviously is a process of living and experiencing. It is a far cry from the rather simple process of telling and directing, and since it involves a good deal of personal sharing, we can safely assume that it is imperative the counselor himself must be one who sees himself as a free human, in other words, one who has personally achieved a high level of self-actualization.

Thus, the counselor as a human being is more important than the counseling, just as the individual who is a dropout is more important as a human than the fact that he is a school dropout. Wherever he is, he still has strength, he still has the potential for freedom, and while many things on many fronts must be done to help him, the counselor is the one who, now, *should* be able to offer him what he needs most. This is a close sharing of a human relationship with one who has for him a high regard, one who can offer him unconditional acceptance, but one who has no guarantees, no answers; one who can help him to see freedom, but freedom with risk; one who can help him to come to see that freedom and self-integrity are the same thing, that they are within the grasp of each of us, and that we are the ones to determine whether we wish to hold tight or let fall this freedom and this self-integrity.

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Social Status Differences

COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

Edmund W. Gordon

INTRODUCTION

A problem of increasing proportion in education and social planning is that of providing educational opportunities appropriate to the characteristics and needs of large numbers of children who live in communities where income level and social status are low; where general intellectual stimulation is inappropriate to a high level of academic achievement; and where patterns of social organization, cultural characteristics, and cultural values differ markedly from those which are dominant in middle class society.

Several studies of children attending school in many of our disadvantaged communities have pointed to atypicalities in development, in attitudes toward academics, and in school achievement. Children living under varying conditions of deprivation and social-cultural atypicality are also reported to show disproportionately high rates of social maladjustment, behavioral disturbance, physical disability, and mental subnormality. The fact of academic deficiency among a high percentage of this population is also well documented. The specific nature of these deficiencies is not so clearly documented; but in the few attempts at specifying the characteristics of these learners, several conditions are generally accepted. Among these are:

1. Contradictory attitudes toward self and others with low self-concept and the resultant exaggerated positive and negative attitudes toward others prevalent

2. Utilitarian and materialistic attitudes, not unlike those which dominate in our society, but which in the light of limited horizons and opportunities function as depressants on motivation, aspiration, and achievement

3. Low-level aspiration and motivation concerning academics and academic products, as well as in relation to some social norms

4. Low-level academic task orientation and variable levels of general test involvement

5. Styles and modes of perceptual habituation which do not complement the emphases which are important to traditional academic efficiency

6. Weaknesses in the utilization of abstract symbols and complex language forms to interpret and communicate

7. Weaknesses in the utilization of abstract cognitive processes with marked tendency to favor concrete, stimulus-bound cognitive processes

8. Marked social-cultural patterns in their conditions of life which tend to be noncomplementary to traditional standards of academic achievement and social stability; these include hypermobility, family instability, distorted model relationships, economic insufficiency, housing inadequacy, repeated subjection to discriminatory treatment, as well as forced separation from many of the main channels of our society.

Even fewer attempts have been made at identifying the *positive* characteristics of socially disadvantaged children. However, among these may be listed the following:

1. Selective motivation, creativity, and proficiency

2. Complex symbolization in in-group language forms and ritual behavior

3. Functional computational skills

4. Accuracy of perception and generalization around some social, psychological, and physical phenomena

5. Selective recall, association, and generalization

6. Capacity for meaningful and loyal personal relationships

7. Capacity for meaningful and sustained selective task involvement

8. Ingeniousness and resourcefulness in the pursuit of self-selected goals and in coping with the difficult conditions of life peculiar to states of economic insufficiency and poverty, low social class status, and low racial-caste status.

WHAT KIND OF GUIDANCE FOR THE DISADVANTAGED?

The high incidence of norm variance with respect to school adjustment and persistence of school attendance in some of our minority groups is well established. Recognizing, as all of us do, that there are many minority group children who require no more or less in counseling than do majority group children, I shall attempt in this paper to wrestle with some of the special problems that may require attention in the counseling of youth who are *handicapped* by social status differences.

My topic suggests that there are some special considerations, some unique problems, and some specific approaches to counseling which must be taken into account when we apply this process of guided behavioral development and guided behavioral change to youth so handicapped. I will deal with some of these in this paper. However, I seriously doubt that there are any such factors which are fundamental to counseling or guided behavioral development and change. Still, our focus on a handicapped group and some of the special problems and considerations involved may lead us to the identification or support of concepts and theoretical positions that are fundamental to counseling. In medicine, when concerted attention has been given to the epidemicity and control of pathological syndromes, we have often gained insight into and understanding of some of the basic postulates in medicine. It also may be that as we look more closely at the guided development of children who are handicapped by differences in social status, we may gain a better understanding of some of the postulates basic to the process of guided behavioral development and change in general, and counseling in particular.

I have the feeling that readers of this paper will be looking for something very practical regarding counseling minority group children. However, if I am asked how to counsel minority group children, I must say that I don't know, since I am not at all certain that we know how best to counsel or that counseling is our most effective tool of guided behavioral development and change. I am not at all sure that what we do in the counseling relationship is meaningfully significant in the life of a child whose conditions of life deny at crucial points the validity of democracy's promises and humanity's hopes. I am sure that we can make him feel better. If we are lucky, he may see in us a spark of humanity with which he may identify and which he may use as a model. Or we may be able to help him gain insight into the ways his own behavior helps to defeat his purposes. But those of us who have worked with these children know that once the process of social maladaptation has begun, our successes are the exception rather than the rule. These successes occur, it seems to me, when changes in the conditions of the pupil's life are experienced by accident or through significant positive intervention.

If I am asked in what direction we should move to achieve behavioral change and growth in minority group children, in socially disadvantaged children, and probably in all children, I can only suggest that the experiencing of self in interaction with objective and subjective reality is the only way in which consciousness and behavior develop and the only way in which they change. In my frame of reference, it is not so much in the isolated and insulated counseling relationship but in the main stream of life experience that these interactions are maximally operative. Consequently, the focus in our efforts at behavioral growth and change should be on the guided interaction of self with environment. Counselors, therefore, should focus more on the design and provision of environmental encounters calculated to best complement individual human potential and need.

In recent years, counseling and guidance have emphasized concepts from psychotherapy, frequently analytically oriented, generally passive and permissive, sometimes manipulative and directive. This emphasis on concepts from psychotherapy and the role of the therapist has been reflected in counselor training programs, is prominent in counseling theory, and tends to dominate in professional aspiration and professional practice. Unfortunately, this emphasis has led away from concern with broad problems of public mental health and away from a focus on the realities of the current life situation. We have tended to level our sights on the psychic factors, conscious or unconscious, within the individual. Our goals have been geared to the adjustment of the individual to his environment even when that environment contains many elements which are destructive to the best interest of the counselee himself. We have not given adequate consideration to the concrete realities in the lives of many of our children which retard their development. In seeking to meet the mental health needs of underprivileged minority group children, an approach which does not take into consideration their special conditions of life and which does not concern itself with modifying these is unrealistic and limited in its effectiveness. The great importance in psychotherapeutic work of changes external to the individual has been discussed by such workers in the field as Allen,[1] Alexander and French,[2] Janet,[3] Kardiner and Ovesey,[4] Plant,[5] and Wortis.[6] Our concern with a more meaningful approach to counseling and guidance for underprivileged minority group children might well begin with a review and recast of our present concept of psychotherapy.

GUIDANCE IS A PROCESS, NOT AN ART

Therapy has been defined as the treatment of disease by various methods. The term has its origin in two words from the Greek: *therapeutikos*, meaning attendant or servant, and *therapeutia*, meaning healing or medical treatment. The word has long carried the connotation "curative" and has been concerned with remedies for disease. Psychotherapy has been defined as treatment of disease by suggestion, treatment of mental disorders, and the mental treatment of illness, especially nervous diseases and maladjustments. *Psycho* in the word *psychotherapy* has its origin in the Greek word *psyche* which is translated "soul" or "mind." Psychotherapy carries the connotation of a "mental curative" and is concerned with remedies for mental diseases or maladjustments. The emphasis in the definitions of these words has reflected their usage as pertaining to the healing arts.

The concept of therapy and psychotherapy to be presented here is somewhat different from the concepts presented above. The position held is that therapy has to do with the process of healing rather than the art of healing. Healing is not an act or accomplishment of the therapist. Healing is an act or accomplishment of the infirmed or maladjusted organism or personality as it attempts to recover and grow into wholesomeness. This connotation can also be traced to the Greek. The word *therapeutikos* from the Greek is translated "attendant or servant." The therapeutist or therapist, then, is the servant or attendant of the infirmed or maladjusted—serving his needs, helping him, creating the conditions and circumstances whereby the healing or curative process, the process of recovery, or the process of growth can be accomplished by the person attended or served. The therapist has no bag of tricks out of which he pulls a cure for a specific illness. Indeed, it is his job to study the counselee, the environment, the circumstances, the history, the etiology, and the symptoms, and then to help create the conditions—the psychological climate—whereby the process of healing or adjustment can take place.

Some of us, who have regarded medical science as a healing art and the physician as a near miracle man, along with those of us who may have regarded the psychiatrist as a supermiracle man, may find this viewpoint hard to accept. In the past few years, many rather dramatic results have been reported in the medical literature following the use of the so-called "miracle drugs." At a glance, it would seem that the medicine man of old with his magic was again on the scene, only with far greater skills and far less fanciful equipment. But a close analysis of what happens when ATCH, streptomycin, aureomycin, penicillin, cortisone, and the other drugs are used suggests that these drugs serve only to create conditions under which the body can heal itself or return to normalcy. It is true of the sedatives, the tranquilizers, the anesthetics, the vitamin and hormone supplements, and it is true of the stimulants. When the surgeon is observed with less rose-colored glasses, he is seen removing or altering tissue or organs that interfere with the normal growth or functioning of the body. After the tissue is removed, the body then sets about to heal itself, to make a more wholesome adjustment, to return to normalcy. The medical therapist is an enabler rather than a healer.

Psychotherapy then pertains to the healing process rather than the healing art. It seems hardly necessary to repeat that the psychotherapist, like other therapists, is an enabler rather than a healer, an attendant rather than a magician, the provider of the catalytic agent. Just as the medical therapist helps to create a structural or physiological condition which is conducive to growth, recovery, and healing, the psychotherapist helps to create such a psychological condition or climate.

GUIDANCE AS A MODIFICATION OF ENVIRONMENT

If we grant, then, that psychotherapy is a process whereby the psychological environment is so structured as to permit and encourage growth toward wholesomeness and normalcy on the part of the counselee, the question which now presents itself is one of methodology. This psychological climate or environment is not simply permissive. Its essential characteristic is not that it allows positive change. Its integral factor is its nourishing quality, its stimulation of growth. Healing, growth, and development are not solely dependent upon the capacity of the organism or personality to change; neither are they are just dependent upon prevailing conditions conducive to growth. The quality of development depends, in large measure, on the nature of the stimulation provided and the resultant interaction. How, then, is such stimulation insured? What is the role of the counseling and guidance service in the creation and maintenance of such a climate?

Within certain broad limits set by the laws of universe, man has within himself the capacity to develop the kind of environment, the kind of society he chooses. The history of the development of mankind is but a record of the efforts of individuals and groups to do just that. It remains, then, for men, institutions, and governments working cooperatively to create the kinds of environments and the kinds of stimulation that make for wholesome growth and adequate development. The counseling situation, the guidance program, the school alone cannot meet this need. Joseph K. Hart has said:

> The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is a problem of making a community in which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent to the goods of life—eager to share in the tasks of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so.[7]

Counseling and guidance are among the community's instruments through which total growth needs are met and by which life experiences are designed and molded. Many functions must be served through the counseling and guidance processes. The traditional concern with diagnosis, evaluation, and interview-focused counseling must be continued. Those services designed to provide support, interpretation, remotivation, rehabilitation, and ego strengthening are essential. The involvement of family, school, church, labor union, and other community agencies will require enhancement and integration. The insights of the guidance specialist will need to be interpreted to others who contact and influence the children served. The relative emphasis on intensive, individual interview-type therapy will need to be reduced and shifted to an emphasis on interpreting and restructuring the life experience of the child. Where reality problems are severe, concentrated effort will need to be placed on the relief of such conditions. The staff of the counseling service will need to dislodge itself from the desk and playroom and become actively involved in the actual experiences of the child and with the persons who influence and determine those experiences. The counseling and guidance program must have its influence on the political and economic developments in the community. It must command the respect and cooperation of the religious and social institutions. At all points where the child's development may be influenced, the counseling and guidance service must stand ready to bring its insight to bear.

Witmer[8] has described four points of focus in child guidance. She reports that some agencies place emphasis on attempts at making the environment an easier and pleasanter place for the patient to live. Other agencies place their emphasis on attempts at finding new outlets for the patient's energies and capacities. A third approach places emphasis on remedying the patient's specific disabilities, while the fourth is primarily concerned with dealing directly with the patient's psychic problems. While she concedes that most clinics use a combination of these four approaches, she sees a fundamental difference between those who emphasize the adjustment of the environment to the individual and those who feel that the individual can make his own adjustment if he is helped to overcome his anxieties and fears. Counseling which seeks to meet the mental health needs of underprivileged minority group children should use a combination of the four approaches. It is the responsibility of the counselor to guide the modification and utilization of the environment as well as the utilization and modification of the capacity for change in the individual.

Such a comprehensive approach has many implications for practice. I think in the first place that a far more meaningful approach to counseling and guidance is required than that provided by the concepts which have guided us in the past. It may be that we need to look at some of our concepts with a view to reformulation, at others with a view to re-emphasis, and probably at still others with a view to discarding them and replacing them with more valid and appropriate theories.

Greater Emphasis on Qualitative Appraisal Needed

I have suggested that our concern with the problems of underprivileged children, socially disadvantaged children, children who are culturally different, leads us to some ideas that may have real meaning not only for the disadvantaged child but for all children. Among these ideas may be the need or requirement that we pay more than tangential respect to the systematic and continuous qualitative appraisal of children for whom we provide guidance services. Certainly most of our guidance practices have been concerned with the utilization of many approaches to the observation and classification of behavior from which we make estimates with respect to intellectual potential, academic achievement, and social adjustment. Evaluation and appraisal are not foreign concepts to us. However, I submit that we have been far less concerned with the qualitative aspects of appraisal and evaluation than the needs and characteristics of the population with whom we are dealing require.

I like to think of pupil appraisal and evaluation as "typographical" and "topological" studies of children. I use these terms to refer to the detailed qualitative analysis of the specific character of the learner and of the specific nature of the learner's experience. This kind of analysis is produced by qualitative as opposed to quantitative appraisal, descriptive as opposed to impressionistic reports, and leads not simply to diagnosis and classification but to prescription and treatment. Just as we study geographic areas to determine the nature of the terrain, the kind of soil, the depth of ground water, the kinds of rock formation, etc., when we look at each child in a qualitative appraisal we need to study all factors that enable us to understand the specific character of the individual. In the topological study we are concerned with the way in which the child has developed, what the important events and circumstances have been, and what the conditions and the total life experiences of this child are that have created the current condition. So as a first concept I would suggest (and this is possibly not new in guidance but probably reformulated and re-emphasized) the need to pay much more attention to appraisal, not just quantitative appraisal, not just diagnosis and classification but qualitative appraisal.

Designing More Optimal Learning Experiences

A second idea has to do with the use of these qualitative appraisal data as a basis for a detailed prescription of positive and meaningful learning experiences. Following the position set forth by Hunt,[9] it is very likely that the way in which the individual moves ahead intellectually, that is, the way in which he learns, is greatly influenced by the nature of the individual and by the nature of the encounter—the experience—to which he is exposed. Putting it another way, it simply means that the content, the sequence, and the pattern of the learning experience must be so organized, so designed that these facilitate and to some extent determine what is developed. This concern with the design of learning experiences may appear to be contrary to the traditional concerns of counseling. I would like to think of guidance as the field that is concerned with educational architecture, the design of learning experiences in the light of the kind of insights, the kind of knowledge, the kind of understanding that has been arrived at from our qualitative appraisal. As we move into a period when the knowledge required for effective and adequate preparation of teachers is increasing, at a time when the requirements of certification of teachers are being moved in the direction of greater concentration upon academic content, it may very well be that the functions of the guidance *person* will have to focus on the individualized design of learning experience and the facilitation of this design as an adjunct and parallel service to the teacher's primary concern—the content of the learning experience.

De-emphasis of Counseling

A third general concept is one which I think is most crucial in our concern with counseling and guidance for this population.

The needs of the socially disadvantaged children require that we remove the interview and counseling from their central and dominating position in guidance. If we look at state certification requirements, our textbooks in guidance, or at much of our current practice, we see that they all reflect an emphasis on the interview or the counseling relationship as essential, as probably the most important function of the guidance person. One tool which we insist the guidance person have is competence in counseling. Testing we may leave to the psychologist, but under no circumstances may we delegate counseling. Nonetheless, in working with socially disadvantaged children, guidance as a person-to-person process—through which information is provided, through which catharsis may be experienced, through which insight is achieved or support is provided—appears to me to be an insufficient, if at all an appropriate, emphasis. I suspect that under the influence of our exaggerated respect for the many forms of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, we have come to view the counseling relationship, this person-to-person aspect of guidance, as a tool of far greater significance than it merits. I feel that guidance must be chiefly concerned with the motivation and facilitation of development and learning. I am not at all sure that this objective is best accomplished through the person-to-person interview of the counseling relationship. Using qualitative appraisal and uniquely detailed prescriptions for learning, I think that a more productive approach involves the identification and correction of factors in the physical and social environment which predispose inadequate function. It is far more important in the development, or redevelopment, of children who are greatly handicapped by poverty, by prejudicial attitudes directed toward them, by limited opportunities, and by limited experiences, that we attempt to make significant changes in their conditions of life, modifying and removing the things that are standing in their way, rather than emphasizing a change in the individual's attitude toward these obstructions. Certainly, in a society where nothing can be done about poverty it may be advisable to counsel for accepting it and adjusting to it. However, in our society I consider that the *least* we can do is to tell the person who is poor not to feel badly. A far more productive approach to rehabilitation involves the development of meaningful learning and postschool opportunities for upward mobility as well as involvement of these individuals, their families, their communities, and their schools in the process of changing those physical conditions of life, the social condition of life, those conditions in family relationships and in the teacher-pupil relationship which make for maladjustment and underproductivity, rather than placing emphasis on a change in the attitude of the individual toward the competing forces. This is particularly true in view of the fact that very often the attitudes that we seek to change are attitudes of rejection and rebellion against unwholesome forces. I think that this de-emphasis of counseling could very well lead guidance workers into giving greater attention on the one hand to providing the assistance the school and the school personnel may need and on the other hand to the development of reciprocation, communication, and cooperation between home, community, and school, to the end that maximal opportunities for counselee development are achieved.

Better Use of Data About Pupil Backgrounds

Some attention has been given to the kinds of interpretations schools might provide for parents, with respect to their children's school adjustment, so that parents could be somewhat more helpful to both the school and to their children. However, little attention has been given to communication in the opposite direction; that is, helping the school to use some of the insights, some of the contributions from home and community in facilitating the child's development and learning. A process of reciprocal communication flowing between the home, the community, and the school is greatly needed and must draw much more heavily on that which the home and community can contribute. This requires a more appropriate utilization of the content and material that is referable to the life and environment of the child. Some of us have become concerned with the way in which our textbook materials and other materials reflect this life and environment, and of even greater importance, the way in which the experiences and values of some of these children are not adequately reflected in our teaching materials. The counselor can do much to help teachers become more aware of and more sensitive to the meaning of the life experiences of their pupils. Certainly in those areas where we already have some primary responsibility, as in the preparation and use of guidance materials, we can do a far better job of relating them to the realities of the worlds in which these children live.

Probably at no point have we given adequate attention to the contributions which can be made to pupil growth through identification with the struggles of disadvantaged children and their families. It has been suggested that the current civil rights crisis and the struggle for equal rights, particularly in the Negro community, may provide a level of immense usefulness in reaching minority group children. The teacher or the guidance worker who can creatively use material derived from that source may rapidly increase interest, involvement, and motivation. Those of us who are or can be identified as sympathetic to or involved in the support of this struggle may find new and more meaningful bases for pupil-teacher or counselor-counselee identification. Similarly, some of the messages that have been developed in this struggle have pertinence. The appeal of the Negro nationalist groups is in no small measure due to the concepts of self-respect, race value, race pride, and race expectation that their leaders preach. In many instances this message has found sympathetic reception among some of the most disorganized and hopeless elements in the Negro community. I don't know whether it can be used in other contexts or by non-Negro authority figures, but it deserves attention. The possibility that children can be more greatly motivated by material relating to the problems that are immediate to their experience and concern is certainly not a new concept, but it is one that we cannot ignore.

The Role of Counseling

The last point I will make, again in the context of a reduced emphasis on the counseling relationships and a greater emphasis on other aspects of guidance behavior in influencing the development of the child, is that we should not throw out counseling altogether. I think that it would be somewhat idealistic and probably impractical to anticipate that in the immediate future the many things that stand in the way of the fuller development of all children in our society will suddenly be changed. These children need support, interpretation, and opportunities for ventilation. One of our important counseling functions is to support and strengthen the child's ability to cope with destructive forces as long as they are operative. But this does not mean an acceptance of the implication that things will always remain as they are or should remain that way or that one has no responsibility for changing them. There used to be a chap who wrote in one of the tabloid newspapers in New York City on mental health, and one of the more appropriate suggestions he made had to do with the value of resistance in mental health. He wrote of the extent to which a person is defeated simply by the feeling that there is nothing he can do about adversity. What we are suggesting here is that a part of our function in counseling is to strengthen children, to help them deal more effectively with destructive forces than by simply accepting them, and to help these children understand how they can resist, how they can fight back, how they can more appropriately equip and acquit themselves in the major struggles for survival and advancement.

Another aspect of our function in counseling is to identify and nurture those attitudes, aspirations, and motivations which may be used productively in the maximal achievement of appropriate goals in education and socialization. We can do a great deal about creating consciousness of potential, consciousness of what can be done, and recognition of those levers that can be used to move ahead, those levers that can be used for salvaging unrecognized talents, unrecognized aspirations, and for developing fuller lives. We can do this through family counseling, through individual counseling, and even more so through guided group interaction.

SUMMARY

Much of our efforts that identify interests, aptitudes, and potentials in children stop at the point of classifying that which is presently observable. I am suggesting that we de-emphasize our concern with counseling and adjustment and turn our focus instead to the broader areas of environmental encounters. This will make possible the design of more meaningful learning experiences and the creation of conditions of life and psychological climates more appropriate to man's hopes. We may then move into the areas of the development of skills, the development of intelligence, the development of interest, the development of aspiration, and the development of competence.

The environmental encounters and interactions are the crucial determinants, and it may well be that our preoccupation with the interpersonal relationship we call counseling and interviewing is entirely inappropriate. Both our theory and the needs of our children may force us to adopt new models and new techniques of guided human development and behavioral change. It may be that we depend too heavily on vicarious experience when the situation requires real life experience in healthy situations, under growth-stimulating circumstances, with appropriate resources, supports, and direction. Nonradical modifications could be made through group guidance, guided group interaction, interfamily consultation, or sheltered work study or social functions. More radical moves will take the counselor into social service, into community organization, into politics, into the manifold jobs of developmental facilitation, i.e., facilitating development through the management of environmental encounters at school (curricular and extracurricular), home (family relations), and community (economic growth, jobs, equality of opportunity, and democratic living).

If we recognize that much of what is wrapped up in what we call behavior is the product of that which has occurred in the pupil's past—the interaction between that which is and that which has been—it is possible that the potential for pupil development is greater than what we presently believe. By positive intervention, to manipulate and modify that which is (the present experience), we may come close to the creation and achievement of much that we know to be possible for modern man.

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PART IV

COUNSELOR EDUCATION

Professional Preparation of Counselors Implications in Regard to School Dropouts 213
Robert O. Stripling

Conspectus 227
C. Gilbert Wrenn

Appendix A 233

Appendix B 239

Appendix C 253

Symposium Participants 263

List of Officers 267

Counselor education has been the subject of serious study and discussion in guidance circles for many years. More recently, with the upsurge in the demand for counselors and the development of new counselor education programs, there has been a concentrated effort made by the counseling profession to appraise the whole field of professional counselor preparation and to formulate appropriate evaluational criteria and recommendations. The Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES), an organization of university, college, state education department, and of city guidance personnel, and a division of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, starting in 1959, has conducted a five-year study of counselor education standards in the preparation of secondary school counselors. Dr. Stripling, the author of the following paper, is chairman of this committee. His paper draws heavily on the findings of the committee. In addition, he has indicated how the professional preparation of counselors can be keyed to the various types of problems and pupils, including the potential school dropout, encountered by counselors.

Should counselors be specifically trained (and assigned) to work with special problem groups, such as potential dropouts? What type of preparation and experiences are considered most valuable for future counselors to have? What of the competencies of today's practicing counselors?

Stripling's paper considers each of these questions straightforwardly. For one thing, it would be foolish to specialize training according to a particular type of pupil problem, he says. Problems and pupils are much too diverse for such an approach, and furthermore, the counselor produced by such narrow training would be considerably limited in his ability to function in a typical school situation.

Stripling has some pointed criticism regarding a technique orientation approach to the professional preparation of counselors. Too many counselors, he says, know how to do a variety of things and do not know why they do them. He recommends instead greater attention to guidance theory and psychological-sociological study. This would permit counselors to be more flexible, adaptable, and versatile.

Stripling also raises a question about the professional competencies of the majority of our present-day counselors and suggests that they may have been shortchanged in their preparation. In light of the high frequency of overloaded and under-trained counselors, he expresses concern with the current practice of assessing contemporary guidance programs for actual, and potential, effectiveness. He regards this practice as one of the most serious threats to the whole guidance movement today.

If counselors were adequately prepared in a two-year, carefully designed program of basic and theoretical instruction, supervised exposure, and integrated experiences, as postulated here by Stripling, they would then be ready for almost any school situation or problem that arose. Until this is the case, he implies, present guidance practice will fall far short of its great promise, and of society's expectations as well.

Stripling, in concluding, comments on the need for in-service education which (a) takes cognizance of the team (community agency and other school staff members, including administrators) approach and which, (b) while admittedly costly and time consuming, provides supervised experiences in small group work, individual counseling, testing, and laboratory and field work in the behavioral sciences.

Throughout the paper, it should be noted, Stripling advocates that case work and study of potential early school leavers, and the whole spectrum of educational, sociological, and psychological considerations they evoke, should be included as an integrated portion of the counselor's professional pre-service and in-service education.

Professional Preparation of Counselors

IMPLICATIONS IN REGARD TO SCHOOL DROPOUTS

Robert O. Stripling

INTRODUCTION

Other chapters in this publication have discussed various aspects of the school dropout problem in our country. Consequently, there is no need to review or summarize this information with respect to its implications for school counselor preparation. However, it seems important to mention several basic considerations regarding the school dropout problem which must be taken into account if realistic proposals for counselor preparation are to be projected. These considerations, based on my study and clinical observations, are:

1. *School administrators, teachers, and counselors are threatened by the presence of the potential dropout and often encourage him to leave school.* This attitude is understandable if one makes only a superficial examination of the school situation in our country. Based on today's knowledge of human development, motivation, and learning, our schools are in the early 1900's with respect to organization, curriculum content, and specialized services needed to enhance the personal, social, and intellectual development of each child served. The potential school dropout, in most of our schools, creates a threat to the school staff be-

cause they recognize that they cannot meet his needs. The curriculum is too narrow, the classes too crowded, and the counseling services as well as school social work services, health services, and other diagnostic, therapeutic, and remedial services are not available to assist in working effectively with this student. Such a student threatens the faculty's sense of adequacy as professional people, since they have neither the time, the skills, nor the specialized services available to assist him. This causes the staff to become hostile toward the student or to reject him in some other fashion such as ignoring him, ridiculing him, or just leaving him alone without encouragement or help. In many cases, one or more members of the staff might suggest to the potential dropout that he would be better off outside the school program. This rejection frustrates the student. It impedes his normal growth and development, it is disastrous to such development.

2. *The typical school dropout actually likes school and appreciates the value of an education.* A number of studies made during the last decade have concluded with the generalization that the typical school dropout does not like school and does not appreciate the value of an education. Such conclusions are drawn from a superficial analysis of the school dropout's feelings based on an external frame of reference; in other words, this is the way the researcher perceives the situation. It is not, in my opinion, the true expression of the student's perceptions and feelings. When this problem is analyzed from an internal frame of reference—through the feelings deep within the school dropout—we reach a different conclusion. In many cases, the potential dropout does express hostility toward the school and the staff and some crisis will occur which will give him an excuse to leave school. At that moment, he might say, "I don't like school." However, what he is really saying is, "I've got a problem and the school fails to recognize this and give me the help I need and the kind of educational opportunity I want." He is angry over the school's failure to help him. When he needs such things as counseling, group therapy, school social work services, family counseling services, and health services—when he is literally screaming for this help—he is told by pious adults that if he doesn't straighten himself out, he is going to fail or get expelled from school.

Moreover, the potential early school leaver faces pressures on all sides—in the home and in the community as well as in the school. The only one of these three institutions from which he can escape is the school. Therefore, it is understandable that he leaves school as soon as possible. His escape from school is made in a desperate effort to secure "breathing space" which will allow him some degree of freedom from pressure. Because of his economic dependence he cannot escape the home or the community, but he can withdraw from school. The law gives him this right. He falls back on his only resources available, hostility, aggressiveness, indifference, or ridicule directed toward the school. It is his only way to express himself in order to save what little integrity he has left. This *does not* mean that the potential dropout does not like school or fails to appreciate the value of an education.

3. *The potential school dropout cannot enter into the world of the school faculty; the school faculty must be professionally and emotionally prepared to enter into the world of the potential dropout.* Our schools are dominated by the mores of middle class American culture. The values promoted, the standards of conduct upheld, and all rules of the school are those deemed appropriate for our middle class society from which most school staff members come. It is very likely that the potential school dropout is from a different subculture of our society which upholds different values and different standards of conduct. Thus, the tug of war begins. The staff makes a desperate effort to impose its value structure on the potential school dropout, and it is natural that this student resists such efforts. It is not a question of disagreeing with middle class values but simply a question of not understanding them and not being emotionally equipped to conform. However, the school staff do not understand this because they do not understand the world of the potential dropout. They interpret such resistance as indifference, hostility, or outright arrogance. If American schools are to assist the potential early school leaver, teachers, administrators, and counselors must be prepared to enter into the world of this student, view life as he sees it, and help him cope with problems created by the environmental influences of his subculture.

4. *To relate facts about dropouts and to teach techniques that can be used in working with them is not enough.* Such an approach will not prepare the school counselor or any other school personnel to cope with the dropout problem. The professional preparation needed for the school counselor is relatively costly

and time consuming. It can be obtained only in well-developed counselor education programs that are adequately staffed and financed. While I would suggest that there are probably less than 50 institutions of higher learning in our country today that have the resources to offer such preparation, there are over 800 institutions whose college presidents have indicated to the U.S. Office of Education that their institutions have the staff, physical facilities, and other resources needed to prepare counselors! However, school counselors and counselor educators must share much of the responsibility for such a situation, inasmuch as they have never, as a professional group, developed criteria that can be used by college administrators in determining the adequacy of counselor education programs. The American Personnel and Guidance Association through one of its divisions, the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, is currently sponsoring a five-year study of counselor education standards in the preparation of secondary school counselors.[1, 2, 3] This study, which is in its fourth year, is designed to develop guidelines which may be used by colleges and universities in evaluating counselor education programs. While the study is concerned specifically with the preparation of secondary school counselors, it is realized that it has broad implications for the preparation of all school counselors.

ELEMENTS OF SCHOOL COUNSELOR PREPARATION

The Conant report,[4] the Wrenn report,[5] and various White House conference reports during the last decade emphasize the strategic position of the school counselor and other members of the pupil personnel services staff in the local school situation. In fact, these reports suggest that American education cannot take another significant step forward until school counseling and pupil personnel services are drastically improved. The Conant and Wrenn reports suggest that there should be one full-time counselor for each 250 to 300 secondary school youth, and other studies have recommended that there be one full-time school counselor for each 500 to 600 elementary school youth. It is evident that the recommended ratio of school counselors per students is much lower than the ratio recommended for other specialized members of the pupil personnel services staff. While such a ratio does not imply that the school counselor is more important in the lives of children and youth, it does imply a responsible role. If the school counselor is to play this role successfully, his preparation must be of high quality and more intensive than has been true in the past. Leaders in school counseling and counselor education are convinced that such preparation cannot be obtained in short summer school spurts extending over a period of several years, nor can it be obtained through a minimum one-year graduate program in counselor education. The minimum program for counselor preparation should be two years of graduate work, a substantial part of which should be taken in full-time residence.

Also, recommended ratios of counselors for students must be put into practice. No secondary school counselor, however competent, can work effectively in a situation where there is one full-time counselor for each 400 to 2,000 students. Unfortunately, school counseling services are being judged on the basis of the performance of school counselors in such situations. This, in my opinion, is one of the most threatening problems facing school counseling programs today. Too few people in education, to say nothing about those outside of education, have observed the results of the work of a competent school counselor in a setting where he is responsible for some 250 to 300 students and where he has the support of other equally qualified persons in various aspects of pupil personnel services, as well as school administrators and teachers who are skilled in using to a maximum the unique competencies and understandings of the school counselor and other members of the pupil personnel services staff. While there is no magic related to the ratio of one full-time counselor to every 250 to 300 secondary school youth or every 500 to 600 elementary school youth, I cannot agree with those who caution against thinking in terms of ratios. Perhaps such ratios are not always correct; in a given situation one full-time counselor for each 100 secondary school students might be needed. However, such ratios seem to be reasonable goals toward which we should work.

Also, I would suggest that the elementary teacher who has 35 to 40 students for seven hours a day without even a break to go to the bathroom, or the secondary teacher who has 150 to 180 different students a day has little time or energy to give individual attention to the needs of the potential dropout or to stay after the students leave school to work on such problems. Further, it must be recognized that no school staff, however competent and well organized to work with the potential early school leaver, can accomplish much unless the educational program of the school is sufficiently broad to include courses and other educational and work experiences that meet the needs of this student.

On the surface it might seem that one solution to this problem would be to prepare counselors specialized in working with potential early school leavers or school dropouts. However, this is unrealistic because it is an approach directed toward working on symptoms of the problem rather than basic causes. The basic causes for school dropouts lie deep within the life style of these students and have roots that extend back to the elementary school years or even earlier. Also, it is evident that there is no one cause or no one combination of causes leading to early separation from school. Therefore, only the school counselor who is competent to deal with a complexity of situations can be of real help to the potential early school leaver. For this reason, the basic preparation for the school counselor would be the same. However, as will be indicated below, there may be certain important experiences with respect to school counselor preparation that have implications for preparing the counselor to work with the dropout, or more important, to identify and work with the potential early school leaver, even before he is recognized as having the characteristics of a school dropout. All elements of school counselor preparation cannot be explored, but it seems important to identify some of the major characteristics of such preparation.

Background Preparation for School Counseling

While school counselor preparation is concentrated at the fifth year of college and above, much more attention should be given to the undergraduate preparation of prospective counselors. Such undergraduate work should include, among other things, a broad background in general education and a core of work in behavioral sciences. Work in the behavioral sciences should be designed to give the prospective school counselor an understanding of the subcultures of our society and an appreciation of the impact of these cultures upon the individual. This must be a dynamic approach—one that will assist the prospective counselor in viewing these subcultures through the eyes of those within these cultures. Such an objective cannot be accomplished through textbook- or lecture-oriented course work. These important elements of learning must be supplemented by supervised laboratory and field experiences.

Introduction to Counselor Preparation

Just as we have in the last 50 years developed many students of professional education but relatively few professional educators, we have during the last decade prepared many students of school counseling but unfortunately very few professional school counselors. Even though much has been written concerning the need for school counselor preparation to move away from a technique orientation, there is little evidence to indicate that this important step has been taken. For example, the introductory course in guidance as presently taught in most institutions today places primary emphasis on current practices and techniques of working with individuals. Such an approach cannot be justified, for two reasons. In the first place, it produces a technique-oriented counselor who knows how to do many things but unfortunately does not know why he does most of them. Secondly, there is little need to emphasize current school practices since such practices are at least 50 years behind what theory and research tell us.

An introduction to counselor preparation should stress theory, philosophical considerations, research findings, and the prospective school counselor as a person.[6] Emphasis should be placed on assisting the counselor candidate in understanding the helping relationship, both from the point of view of the helper and those who are to be helped.[7] Also, there should be an emphasis on developing sensitivity and greater depth of understanding concerning individual personality. Theories emphasizing the dynamic aspects of behavior should be analyzed in relationship to the role of the counselor in a school setting. The unique interpretations that are placed on life experiences which lead to the development of individuality, individual goals, different levels of aspiration, and the image of self should be explored. The social and economic pressures within our society and within the subgroups of our culture that influence view of self, levels of aspiration, and motivation for learning and self-enhancement need to be given more attention. Most important perhaps is the need to help the prospective counselor develop a theoretical frame of reference based on an understanding and acceptance of his own motivations for wanting to become a counselor.

Specialized Content for School Counselor Preparation

In addition to a core of work in the behavioral sciences and an introduction to counselor education that stresses the dynamic aspects of human development and learning, the school counselor needs to have special competencies and understandings in the following areas[1, 2]:

1. *The counseling relationship, with appropriate consideration of various theories and based on case conferences, recordings, role playing, laboratory experiences, and supervised practice.* A study of the counseling relationship should place emphasis on the process of becoming a counselor. No longer can we afford the luxury of introductory courses in counseling centered exclusively around didactic instruction. Such instruction should be paralleled by role playing and demonstrations that will assist the beginning counselor candidate in developing insights regarding the counseling relationship which cannot be developed through didactic instruction. Because of the importance of personal involvement for each prospective counselor, introductory courses in counseling should be limited in enrollment. This will make it possible to create a situation where emphasis can be placed on helping the candidate become a counselor rather than only learning about counseling. Such an introduction to counseling should be followed by carefully planned supervised experiences, including a practicum in the counseling relationship, which are discussed below under Supervised Experiences.

2. *Group guidance procedures and practice.* Group procedures need to stress personal involvement (the process) in group work. Didactic instruction should parallel demonstrations, role playing, and participation, both as a participant and as a leader, in group work. Such experiences should include working with students of different ages, abilities, and interests as well as with parents and students from different subcultures of our society.

3. *Vocational development theory; informational materials and services; job opportunity trends.* Vocational and educational guidance are primary concerns of the school counselor. He must not only know the kinds of vocational and educational opportunities available for youth, but he must also understand the theory of vocational development and be able to assist youth and their parents in identifying and exploring vocational and educational choices compatible with interests, abilities, and needs. He

needs to understand the influences that vocational goals can have upon motivation to learn. Also, he should appreciate the relationship between part-time work needs of certain students and satisfactory adjustment in the school setting. Such preparation should assist the prospective counselor in developing an appreciation for all facets of the world of work as well as a sensitivity and open-mindedness that will make it possible to assist each youth in developing his own creativity and interest and thereby finding for himself a satisfying place in the world of work.

4. *Individual appraisal, including the nature and range of human characteristics and methods of measuring them.* More emphasis needs to be placed on the use of such data in facilitating self-understanding on the part of the student. In most of our schools much time is wasted on so-called testing programs that have limited, if any, influence in improving the school program or, more importantly, in helping the individual student to better understand himself, his interests, his strengths, and his own motivations. If this latter, or primary, justification for gathering such data is to be accomplished, teaching methods must be changed. More supervised laboratory work involving small numbers of students per instructor needs to be offered. The traditional three-semester-hour course in individual appraisal is not enough to prepare the school counselor in using tests and other data to facilitate self-understanding.

5. *A knowledge of statistics and research methodology, with competency to conduct independent research which might be demanded of the practicing counselor; at least an elementary understanding of data-processing and programming techniques.* The school counselor is not expected to be the school specialist in these areas nor should he assume the leadership role in research and data processing. However, he needs to be able to read intelligently the literature relating to research in human growth and development, adjustment, and learning. Also, he needs to be able to assist in evaluating the effectiveness of the school program in meeting individual needs. In the modern school such skills require a knowledge of statistics, research methodology, data processing, and programming techniques.

6. *Administration and coordination of counseling and pupil personnel services.* In any school program, either at the local, system-wide, or state level, there should be a well-qualified person responsible for coordinating pupil personnel services. However,

each counselor needs to understand and appreciate the problems involved in such coordination. Also, he should understand the important role that he can play, as an individual counselor, in facilitating the effective use of counseling and pupil personnel services to enhance the personal, social, and intellectual growth of each student.

In addition, the school counselor should have an understanding of the ethics involved in working with individuals and groups and in working with other professional personnel.

Supervised Experiences in Counselor Preparation

There are three important aspects of supervised experiences in counselor education.[2]

1. *Laboratory experiences.* Such experiences are closely related to didactic instruction. They may be provided both on and off campus in appropriate school or agency settings. Laboratory experiences include such activities as demonstrations, role playing, case conferences, and test administration as well as working directly with school youth, teachers, parents, and community agency personnel. These experiences are under the supervision of the counselor education staff and certified personnel in cooperating schools and agencies. They are designed to involve the candidate in the process of becoming a counselor.

2. *Practicum in counseling and in group work relationships.* Supervised experiences in both individual counseling and in group work are important elements of counselor preparation. Such experiences are conducted in appropriate settings on and/or off the campus. Practicum both in counseling and in group work includes ample opportunities for continuing relationships over a period of weeks with several school age youth, as well as with parents. The candidate should have opportunities to enter into such relationships with youth and parents of different socioeconomic backgrounds and of different ranges of intellectual ability and interest. In such situations, it is possible for the counselor candidate to become sensitive to the attitudes, feelings, and needs of the potential school dropout. These experiences should involve working with other members of the school pupil personnel services staff as well as with community agency personnel, teachers, and administrators who can assist the potential early school leaver in coping with his problems, in identifying his

interests, and in planning realistic vocational goals and educational experiences.

A minimum of 60 clock hours should be spent in the two-year program by each counselor candidate in actual counseling and group work relationships. At least 20 of these clock hours should be provided in the first year of counselor preparation. These 60 clock hours of supervised practice should be recorded and/or observed through one-way vision screens or through the use of television. Such a practicum is a growth experience which is spread over a period of time. This experience cannot be completed in one academic term or in one summer session.

3. *Internship in school counseling and pupil personnel services.* The third aspect of supervised practice is an internship in a school setting under the supervision of qualified members of both the school staff and the counselor education staff. It is preferably a paid experience and should extend over an entire school year with at least one-half of the time spent on the job. The internship experience is optional in the two-year counselor education program and may be a part of the third year of graduate preparation in counselor education which relates more specifically to the development of supervisory or leadership personnel in school counseling.

Team Approach to Counselor Preparation

The school counselor is a member of the pupil personnel service team as well as the total school staff. He must be able to work effectively with school psychologists, school social workers, school nurses, school doctors, school psychiatrists, speech and hearing therapists, occupational therapists, physical therapists, and clinical psychologists, as well as teachers, administrators, and supervisors. Also, he must be able to relate effectively to community agency personnel such as rehabilitation counselors, employment service counselors, and social workers. Therefore, preparation in school counseling is not enough. He also needs to have experiences that prepare him to work effectively with other members of the school staff as well as community agency personnel. Opportunities to develop these working relationships should be provided through supervised experiences mentioned above as well as through seminars where other members of the pupil personnel service team and school staff can discuss effective ways of working together in an effort to enhance personal, social, and educational opportunities for children and youth. The planning of such seminars involves cooperative efforts on the part of many personnel within the total institutional program as well as personnel in cooperating schools.

Competent Staff for Counselor Education

As indicated above, counselor education is expensive and time consuming. It takes competent staff with enough time for much individual work. For example, working with no more than five students in a practicum should be equivalent to a three-semester-hour course load. Such a practicum involves a weekly seminar plus an hour of individual work with each student. Also, it is important that cooperating schools provide adequate time for qualified staff members to work with counselor candidates in laboratory experiences and in supervised counseling experiences. Such staff should have time allocated for this important work.[1, 2]

Physical Facilities Needed for Counselor Education

Audiovisual equipment, TV facilities, recording equipment, one-way vision rooms, small counseling rooms for individual counseling and group work, and laboratory facilities for occupational and educational materials, for testing materials, and for the administering of tests under supervision are important for the minimum two-year program in school counselor preparation. Also, staff members need private offices in which to work with individual counselor candidates. In addition, adequate library facilities and data-processing facilities are needed. Too, it is important that one-way vision facilities, individual counseling rooms, and group guidance rooms be available in cooperating schools. School counselors in cooperating schools need private offices in which to work with counselor education candidates.[1, 2]

Leadership Roles in School Counseling

So far we have discussed the minimum two-year program of graduate preparation needed for the school counselor. Those in supervisory and other leadership roles in large schools and in school systems need professional preparation beyond the minimum two-year program. The minimum preparation for such positions should lead to the doctoral degree in counseling and pupil personnel services. This program should include more intensive work in personality theory, the dynamics of human growth and development, learning theory, and in other areas of the behavioral sciences as well as in research design and implementation. Also, it is expected that the internship mentioned above will be an important aspect of the doctoral candidate's preparation. At this higher level of counseling preparation, there should be more emphasis placed on seminars and supervised experiences which are planned to give the counselor candidate an opportunity to work with other members of the pupil personnel services staff and the school staff, as well as community agency personnel.

In-Service Education To Meet School Dropout Problem

We have in our secondary schools today some 15,000 full-time counselors. The great majority of these people have had less than one-fourth of the minimum two-year program outlined above. Of this group, relatively few have had supervised experiences in counseling and in small group work. Furthermore, there are practically no school counselors working with elementary school youth and their parents. In a like manner school administrators and teachers are really neither professionally nor emotionally prepared to work effectively with the potential early school leaver.

The kinds of in-service educational programs needed for these personnel are both costly and time consuming. In addition to work in the behavioral sciences which should include both laboratory and field experiences, there is need for supervised experiences in small group work, individual counseling, and testing. These supervised experiences should be provided under conditions outlined above. While it is expected that the school counselor will have more intensive work in these areas, it is important that administrators and teachers share in some of these experiences. In addition, the in-service school counselor needs more work in such areas as vocational and educational appraisal, planning, and in case work with potential early school leavers and their parents which involves cooperation with other pupil personnel services staff members as well as community agency personnel.

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Conspectus*

C. Gilbert Wrenn

The major concern of all of us, the authors of papers and those who commented upon them, was not only on the problem of the school dropout but on the implications of this problem for the school guidance program. The papers were wide ranging and in this summary I shall attempt only to pull together the recurring themes and issues, and some general conclusions.

RECURRING THEMES AND ISSUES

The topics covered seem to fall into several general themes. They divide themselves about equally between a concern with those students in school who will eventually become dropouts, the "potential dropouts," and those students who have already left before graduation from high school, today's "dropouts."

1. The dropout is one of several categories of students for whom the school needs to provide more specialized attention (Lambert, Shear). There is the poor reader, the emotionally disturbed, the situationally disturbed, the minority group member, the student from a subculture other than that of the teacher's or the counselor's. The problem seems to center not on the school's poor attention to the dropout but its lack of attention to

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* This section is based on the concluding remarks of the symposium chairman, C. Gilbert Wrenn.

poorly understood realities for different kinds of students, of which the dropout is but one.

2. The category of dropout is not a simple one; it is multifaceted (Super, Reed). The present definition in its simplicity may disguise the many different varieties of dropouts that occur. For example, there is the voluntary dropout. There is the dropout who most agree belongs in school and the dropout who most believe does not belong in school. There are transfers, returnees, and "push-outs." There is the individual who considers himself a dropout but who is not always the same person somebody else considers a dropout. There is the individual who drops out but who subsequently obtains a high school diploma or its equivalent through other avenues.

3. The dropout pattern has several dimensions. Dissatisfaction and incompatibility with the school usually go back several years before the physical dropping out occurs. It can be traced back to the elementary grades (particularly the fourth and fifth) and out into the home and community. The dimensions are thus both longitudinal and spatial (Drews, Gordon).

4. The dropout as a person suffers from a serious lack of self-appreciation (Arbuckle, Fullmer). This most often springs from lack of appreciation or attention from others. The nonreturning, the nontransferring dropout leaves school because of his perception that he is rejected by the school—and this is often true in fact. He does not fit school or teacher values, and he lacks the resources or skills to meet these values (Drews). His action in dropping out, or the school's action in permitting him to drop out, is evidence of the failure both of the school and of the student. The cause and effect relationship of the two, however, is not clear.

5. These youngsters flee from a grossly unsatisfying and unrewarding environment and fall into one which may be immediately but not ultimately rewarding (Bienstock, Super). Should our focus be on the failure in school or should it be upon the skill poverty which the dropout offers the world? The prospect of subsequent disillusionment is unquestionably an important factor to be considered.

6. Attention to the dropout as a special stress at this time must be in terms of the student as a person rather than the student as a student or as a job applicant (Arbuckle, Gordon).

We must be aware of the reality of the person versus the realities of the limited opportunities within the environment of this person. Some view these as complementary realities while others see them as antagonistic.

7. Does or should formal schooling continue beyond the normal school hours? Also should it take place during the summer, or in an industrial setting? Should the counselor counsel out-of-school youth? If yes, where, in the school or out of the school? (Reed, Fullmer) Are adult education programs feasible for the dropout? How can the dropout be made to see the need for continuing education, the need for constant retraining, if he is to become and remain economically sufficient? All of this highlights the fact that the act of dropping out is but one aspect of a much broader question. How can America's youth be helped to develop as well as possible into self-responsible and socially responsible adults?

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is obvious that a number of contrasting views and philosophies have been presented in the papers. It is difficult, perhaps foolhardy, to attempt to weigh the various positions and interpretations, but an attempt has to be made. The conclusions that follow are based broadly on the general views and thoughts expressed by the eleven authors and the symposium participants.

1. The school dropout problem is a multifaceted one. It demands the combined attention and resources of the schools and the larger community before substantial and noticeable progress can be made.

2. Pupil personnel specialists in the school have an important responsibility and contribution to make—(a) in assisting those boys and girls who terminate their schooling short of high school graduation; (b) in reducing school dropouts; and (c) in contributing to an increase in the school's holding power.

3. The school's guidance services for all students, including dropouts and potential dropouts, are strategic elements in any program designed to combat early school leaving. However, the counselor should not be perceived as the only, or even the primary, agent. To succeed, he needs the support of many others, but beyond this, his efforts will be limited by what is made

possible by the psychological climate and the availability of program experiences and opportunities in the school and in the broader community.

4. Opinion is divided concerning the advisability of having the counselor provide a different kind of service, a different kind of counseling, or a different kind of program for potential dropouts and early school leavers. There are those who submit that a good quality and comprehensive guidance program, with an optimum ratio of adequately trained counselors to pupils and a well-developed program of related pupil personnel services, (school social workers, attendance officers, school psychologists, school health services, and the like) is all that is necessary for effectively serving the needs of pupils, regardless of their particular backgrounds or inclinations. There is another view which bids the counselor to develop special activities, approaches, methods, and practices for this group of pupils. This view, in effect, deems that current instructional and counseling practices for the dropout are ineffective and that a different point of view and methodology must be developed and accepted.

5. The school should make a concerted, ongoing effort to identify the potential dropout as early as possible. Guidance personnel must play an important role, even the lead role, in this activity.

6. There was a lack of agreement concerning how early special counseling should begin for those students who will in fact drop out. In effect, the initiation of such a program may serve as notice to the faculty that these students are predetermined and inalterable dropouts.

7. Lack of unanimity also occurred as to the kinds of guidance services that should be designed and offered to assist out-of-school youth. Some suggested that the services include vocational placement as well as personal adjustment, while others suggested that the services be limited to evidence of interest and continued support with major focus on having the dropouts return to school when their need for further schooling later became apparent to them.

8. Probably even more than with any other group of students, the counseling staff should take particular cognizance of the crucial role which parents and home environment constitute and its obvious implications for guidance practice.

9. Continued research and study with regard to dropouts is needed in the following areas:

- Early identification
- Predisposing and causative factors in dropping out
- Career patterns
- Employment rates and trends
- Promising action programs and successful practices
- Reaching more universal accord with regard to dropout terminology, records, and statistical reporting procedures.

10. Unintentional but harmful attitudes and practices on the part of counselors and instructional staff may seriously depress the potential dropout's already deflated self-image and personal aspirations. Special programs and opportunities should be provided for staff examination of these influences and for study of the problem and promising approaches to its solution, particularly the local dimensions of the problem.

11. Each community and each school district needs to re-examine present goals, expectancies, programs, curriculum, and opportunities for its youth, especially for those boys and girls who are not planning to enroll in college.

IN PROSPECT

Whether sufficient attention has been devoted to all important areas relating to guidance and the dropout, e.g., automation, minority groups, role of the counselor in curriculum and program design, vocational education, and elementary school guidance, is a moot point. Certainly, there is a great deal more to be said than has been explored in the pages of this volume.

As we approach the mid-sixties, some of the grim statistical forecasts regarding dropouts, their number and their lot, are fast becoming corroborated in fact. The same kinds of predictions, even more disturbing, moreover, have been made for the latter half of this decade and the early seventies unless there are substantial changes in the school and in our economy.

In the same manner that physicians have observed their Hippocratic oath, counselors have long honored, and prided themselves for honoring, a set of basic and fundamental precepts. Such precepts as the following, for example, are widely held:

each pupil has dignity and worth; each pupil should be encouraged to respect his strengths and his uniqueness; each pupil, regardless of cultural level or immediate promise, deserves whatever the counselor has to offer him; the human personality is enormously complicated and counseling requires both increasing knowledge and the fullest measure of patience. The guidance profession, currently observing its fiftieth anniversary, is now at its greatest acceptance, strength, and purview. Perhaps more than ever before in its history, counselors and other pupil personnel workers in the immediate future will be challenged to reaffirm to these youths its unshakable commitment to these guiding principles.

Appendix A

AUTOMATION: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING

John Diebold[*]

(Reprinted from the *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, September 1962, Vol. 6, No. 3)

The dramatic technological changes we have witnessed since the end of World War II are not a one-time spurt originating from military research. They are but the beginning of a continuum of fundamental change—phenomena that will continue at an accelerating rate as far ahead as we can see. If ever there was a time when the study of the effects of automation and other technological changes was of consequence to the human race, this surely is it. These changes have a special meaning for counselors, who have a major role in helping the young people of today grow into viable adults of tomorrow.

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Mr. Diebold is the author of *Automation* (D. Van Nostrand Co., 1952), in which he explores the potential commercial uses of automatic information and processing machines.

THE NATURE OF AUTOMATION

In the history books of the future, automation will be cited more for its capacity to do entirely new things than for its ability to mechanize further the existing production processes. Automation is a revolutionary technique for handling and controlling information. We have scarcely started to realize the potential of automation. At the present, we think of this technology as something that will mainly affect factory work. Of course, it will have a tremendous impact on manufacturing. For instance, numerically controlled metalworking tools, which take operating instructions from a tape and make their own adjustments automatically, will increase our workers' capacity to produce. Traditional man-machine relationships will change as the need for physical exertion gives way before the growing amount of mental effort expected of operators. Workers who now load raw materials into machines and remove finished products will find the need for their services curtailed in the years ahead.

Automated information systems will take over the job of controlling and scheduling some types of work. For example, it will not be necessary for employees to maintain log books in some utilities and continuous process industries. We have already begun to use electronic computers to obtain the most favorable operating conditions in steel mills, petroleum cracking towers, electric generating stations, and even in chemical and cement plants.

However, most of the application of this new technology over the next decade will be outside the factory. The essence of automation is the handling of information and related problems. There are numerous areas in which this new technology can be applied; furthermore, we can be certain that major industries will develop that do not exist now. For an idea of the multitude of problems awaiting solutions, consider the following: Today, probably billions of dollars a year are wasted because different groups are doing the same research; airplanes are wrecked because we do not handle properly the information as to their location; collisions on the highway occur because of human inability to react fast enough to information.

Medical research is one of the areas in which the new information-handling technology will be used. Today, medical statistics are collected in a different way in each hospital. Thus, when a doctor wants to study a particular disease or the effects of a particular drug, he has to search through voluminous and cumbersome records to extract data. In the future, central electronic files of medical records for individuals will be available so that diagnosis, treatment, instrument readings, symptoms, reactions to the disease, and the therapy used will be recorded and stored in an accessible way. A far higher level of accuracy in diagnosis will be possible and at the same time much more about treatment will be known.

Translating machines are already developed which scan printed text, translate from one language to another, prepare an abstract from the translation, and then cross-index and store the information so that it can be retrieved by still another machine.

With the aid of computers, we can now simulate business and technical processes in a manner that makes experimentation and training possible without jeopardizing human lives or plant investment. These simulation techniques enable us to compress years of operating experience into days.

The counselor's tasks, too, could be facilitated by new information-handling techniques. Computers are capable of handling the myriad data about the students' talents, interests, capabilities, educational background, personal characteristics—in combination with educational, training, and mental requirements for a wide variety of career opportunities—so as to uncover a range of occupational possibilities for which students might qualify through ability and training.

With such new counseling tools, the counselor would be able to do a more effective job of helping the student understand himself as well as his relationship to the workaday world in which he will eventually participate. Thus, counselors would be well advised to study the new information-handling techniques and assist in developing computer programs that could facilitate the handling of the numerous details that must be considered in meaningful counseling.

In the past, the man who succeeded in business was usually the man who made the right decision on the basis of few data, but it does not necessarily follow that this same man would make the best business administrator in a situation where a great mass of detailed data are available at the press of a button. Subtle changes are occurring in the kind of administration that is needed. Unfortunately, these changes so far appear to have been given little attention either by businessmen or by the administrators of college curriculums.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Young people of America need an interpretation of today's developments—as well as of those we forecast for the coming decade—to a much greater extent than ever before. We can no longer go along accepting individual developments of technology as unique inventions or as steps in the evolution of a single machine, a process, or a discipline. We must view them as part of the great continuum which is bringing about a change in society itself.

It is to the social change brought on by technology that we must look for the real significance of our current technological revolution. After all, it is to this change that the word *revolution* is applied—not merely to the new machines. The industrial revolution of the eighteenth century was revolutionary because it created a whole new environment for mankind—a whole new way of life. What it gave history was much more than the steam engine and the cotton gin, the railway, and the power loom. It gave society an entirely new tempo, a whole new outlook.

It took men off the fields and out of small shops and put them for the first time into the factory. It gave us mass production and, through mass production, the first civilization in which a comfortable living was not limited to a few. It also gave us a sense of hurry, of time, which is still unknown in countries that have not gone through an industrial revolution. It gave us a sense of material progress, an urge to get ahead, which is not found in industrially undeveloped parts of the world.

In other words, the machines which the industrial revolution produced were agents for enormous social change. No one, least of all Richard Arkwright or James Watt, thought that they were changing civilization itself. Yet for us, looking back, that is precisely what was revolutionary about their inventions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE

Automation is a revolution which solves many of the operational problems of industry, but it raises an entirely new set of business, social, and economic problems. It will tax our ingenuity to the utmost. And it will bring about changes—many of them, at least—within our own lifetime.

What will be the effect of these changes? In the broadest terms, we are going to have a world in which:

- Fewer and fewer people work in factories.
- Less human effort is required for monotonous and tedious work.
- The workweek is shortened.
- The pace of life slows down—leisure becomes the center of life rather than the fringe.

Counselors, in order to give meaningful guidance, will do well to keep abreast of the rapidly changing world of technology. Occupations and industries will undergo a series of drastic changes. Unlike the blacksmith of yesterday, who had an entire generation during which to adjust to his declining occupational field, the skilled worker of today—and perhaps even more so the technician of tomorrow—is quite likely to experience several occupational shifts during his working life.

No longer can we afford complete confidence in the permanency of a way of life or in the continuance of existing trends. Counselors should no longer emphasize the choice of one career as a lifetime pursuit. The overriding need of the future is in the planning for change. In helping a person plan for change. In helping a person plan for his occupational life, a counselor should keep uppermost in his mind the importance of avoiding overemphasis on specific skills at the expense of developing basic capabilities. Special skills can become obsolete very quickly. General capabilities, on the other hand, are the necessary foundation for acquiring new special skills. It is possible that our educational system, which is empirically based, needs a more theoretical orientation.

Automation is widening the gap between many of the skills taught in school and those demanded by the world of work. Some of the blame can be placed on industry. Its efforts to keep schools informed of needed skills have been meager indeed. It is also true that educators themselves frequently have lagged in their efforts to find out the needs of industry and the professions. Guidance counselors will have to broaden their knowledge of industries and occupations. They should know which industries are growing or contracting, and they should know the demands for skills—the ones that will be sought in the future, and those that are becoming obsolete.

Technological change has already created a scarcity of highly educated and skilled personnel. This has happened at a time when our nation's economic growth may be dependent upon the availability of an ample reservoir of highly trained workers. Some of the unemployed are out of work because of insufficient numbers of gifted and skilled workers to solve the problems now slowing down the growth of our industries. Counselors have a vital role in recognizing talent and encouraging exceptional performance.

Appendix B

Excerpts from:

COUNSELING AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICE FOR YOUTH

U.S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D.C.

(Pages 27-34 and 71-75)

PLACEMENT OF PART-TIME WORKERS

The number and percentage of youth in high school seeking and finding jobs after school hours and during vacation has increased rapidly.

Since there is a continuing and healthy trend for part-time employment of students, it would seem important for the schools and Employment Service to take more responsibility for seeing that this experience is meaningful and not harmful. It is not important that all part-time work be in line with future vocational goals, but more training value can often be gained from jobs if some selection and supervision is exerted. While good work habits may be developed in all work, relationships between part-time jobs and vocational goals should be attempted, when possible, and discussed in group sessions and individual counseling.

Many young people after graduation remain full time in the job they have taken on a part-time basis. It then becomes apparent that more attention needs to be given to selection of part-time work. A part-time job in some cases becomes the means by which a young person stays in school to complete his education and develops knowledge and abilities that will enable him to make a greater contribution to the trained labor force. In some cases the work itself is an experience which is educational and maturing in the broadest sense of the meaning of those words.

YOUTH ON WORK-SCHOOL PROGRAM

A healthy trend in education in recent years has been the development of work-school programs, also known as cooperative education. These programs are being developed and extended in many school systems throughout the country to enable high school students to secure work experience while they are also getting a high school education. In some communities the students attend school one week and work one week; in other communities they attend school two weeks and work two weeks; while in still other communities the students attend school one-half day and work one-half day. While the pattern of school-work programs varies, the purpose is the same and the method used usually provides the employer with the same team of employees for the school year. While one student is on the job, his team mate is in school and vice versa. Such work-school programs have great advantages for many students. Employer response to such programs has also been generally favorable.[5]

The jobs have for the most part been in the office and retail field, though some programs have included industrial and service work.[6] Work on these programs should not be confused with regular part time after school and vacation work which many young people also take. School-work experience is coordinated on-the-job learning combined with school instruction under school supervision. In some states the Employment Service does some or all of the counseling and testing, job development, and placement on these projects. The school, however, coordinates and controls the total experience. When the school desires the local employment office to undertake the job development and placement for such school-work programs, this service is considered to be an integral part of the local office placement program for young workers. The local office does not undertake responsibility for school-work programs without complete cooperation with the school. While the work experience and earnings which students get in a school-work program are important, the young person's education at this time is of primary importance. Therefore, final responsibility for the establishment of a school-work program, the nature and extent of such a program, the kinds of occupations and industries in which the young people will work, the particular young people selected for the program, and the continuance of particular students in the program must be determined and controlled by the schools. The responsibility assumed by the local office is in providing assistance to the schools in locating suitable work opportunities, in helping the school sell the program to employers, and in making the final selection of a particular worker if the schools and the employers wish the local office to perform this function. These programs not only keep young people in school who might otherwise leave, but they enrich the educational experience of the youth while he is in school.

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[5] *Work Experience Education Programs in American Secondary Schools*, Bulletin 1957, No. 5. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

[6] *Working Together*, National Association of Manufacturers, 11 W. 49th St., New York City, December 1950.

A good example of Employment Service-school joint activity on such a program is in New York City between the Central Needle Trades High School and the Needle Trades Office of the New York State Employment Service. A counselor of the Employment Service is stationed full time in this high school to provide placement services to those students who are ready for employment. Part-time work is a regular part of this school's curriculum. This particular program has the additional advantage of active support from union and industry and has been in existence a number of years.

In some cases, private business schools have work-study programs similar to those in high school. The Employment Service may during the counseling interview discover interests and aptitudes for clerical fields among academic graduates. Referral of these people may be made to employers who participate in this postgraduate work-study program. The company may pay full salary and the student pay tuition or the company may pay the tuition and a lowered salary during training. This type of program has been successful in Wilmington, Delaware.

JOINT FOLLOW-UP WITH SCHOOLS

When follow-up surveys of graduates are contemplated by local employment service offices, the United States Employment Service has recommended that this activity be coordinated with any such activities in which the local schools may be interested, for schools usually want to know what has happened to their graduates in evaluating their curriculum and guidance services in the light of data obtained from such follow-up. Both agencies should determine before a survey is undertaken exactly how the data are to be analyzed and used, since this may influence the information sought and the methods of obtaining it.

Follow-Up Information to Schools on Individual Applicants

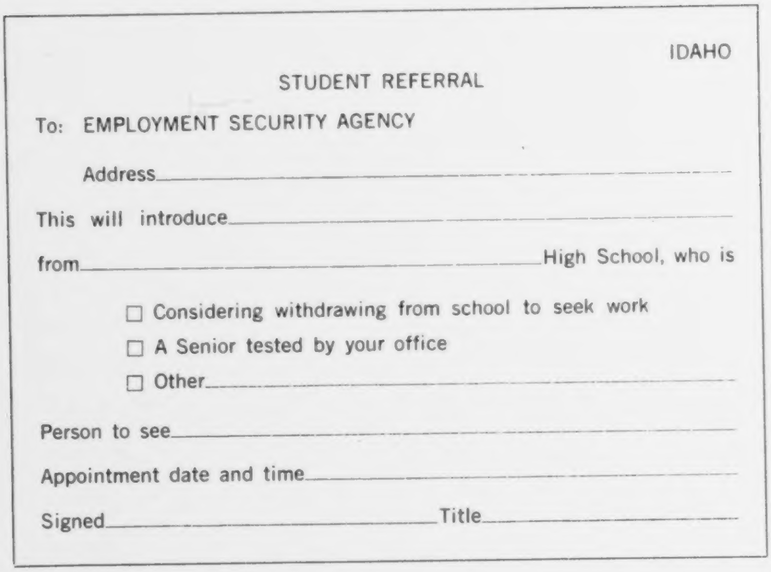
In addition to the joint planning and conducting of follow-up for evaluation of counseling and placement, the Employment Service arranges with the schools for exchange of information on placement outcomes for individual students. Some schools do follow-up reports periodically on the vocational status of their former pupils. Information from the Employment Service regarding its placement activities for these people is sometimes combined with information from other sources for follow-up records. However, experience indicates that most schools do not find it necessary or desirable to maintain complete follow-up information on all former students. Therefore, only that information which is desired and used is transmitted. Some schools may prefer data only on a one-time basis. These matters should be thoroughly discussed by the Employment Service and schools, and a plan should be worked out which permits the exchange of the maximum amount of data useful for the proper guidance and training of future students.

Some schools wish an individual report for each graduate. In such cases probably the simplest method which local offices use is a separate card or slip giving the student's name and the information which the school desires. Other schools, recognizing the desirability of imposing as little clerical work as possible on the Employment Service, feel that it is sufficient if they receive a general report showing the number of seniors who registered with the local office, the number who were placed, some narrative comment on the number of graduates placed in fields related to their training, and other general information which may be useful to the school.

SCHOOL-EMPLOYMENT SERVICE PROCEDURE FOR EACH "DROPOUT"

Various studies point out that only about one-third of the students who enter the ninth grade do not remain in school to graduate. Most of those leaving prior to graduating leave at 16 years of age. Many hold several jobs during their first year out of school. These facts point up the need for more adequate job counseling and placement services for school dropouts.

Young people leaving school before graduation are particularly in need of counseling service. They often are neglected by both the schools and the Employment Service. It is natural that both the schools and the local offices have concentrated their efforts on the high school graduate because of lack of advance knowledge in many cases that a youngster plans to drop out of school. In some cases, for example, the young person secures a position first through his family or friends and then leaves school. It is difficult to institute an orderly and inclusive cooperative program for dropouts. Some steps, however, have been taken to give service to these young people in many places. Planning with individual students and the conduct of exit interviews with such students about to leave school is a school responsibility. However, the local employment service office often cooperates with the school by contacting the appropriate school official when a young person, who is still theoretically attending school, applies to the local office for a job. Such a contact by the local office is not designed to discourage the use of the local office by school dropouts seeking their first jobs but is designed to ensure cooperative action by the school and the local office in the best interests of the young person. Programs are sometimes established whereby young people planning to leave school are encouraged to register with the local office. In this case, the schools give the youth a referral card (a sample of which is shown on page 244) to the local employment service office with the name of the employment service counselor for him to see. In some cases the Employment Service has been able to get a part-time job for the youth and he remains in school.



IDAHO

STUDENT REFERRAL

To: EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCY

Address________________________________

This will introduce________________________________

from________________________________High School, who is

☐ Considering withdrawing from school to seek work
☐ A Senior tested by your office
☐ Other________________________________

Person to see________________________________

Appointment date and time________________________________

Signed____________________Title____________________

Many school dropouts work beneath their potential ability because of their lack of education and training. From a social point of view, this problem is challenging, since it is among this group that the frustrated and potentially delinquent are most frequently found.

When youth come to the employment office who have not completed school and who are still on the school register, they are told of the difficulties they will have in finding suitable full-time employment with a future.

If the individual youth can profit by further education, he is urged to complete high school, and if he returns to school, effort is made to get him a part-time job if he desires this. If for compelling reasons he must seek full-time employment, he is encouraged to complete high school in the evening. He is told that unemployment is usually about double for youth who have dropped out of school, compared with those who have graduated. Employment for dropouts is a problem for youth in good or bad times. In 1961, one out of four youth who dropped out of school was unemployed.

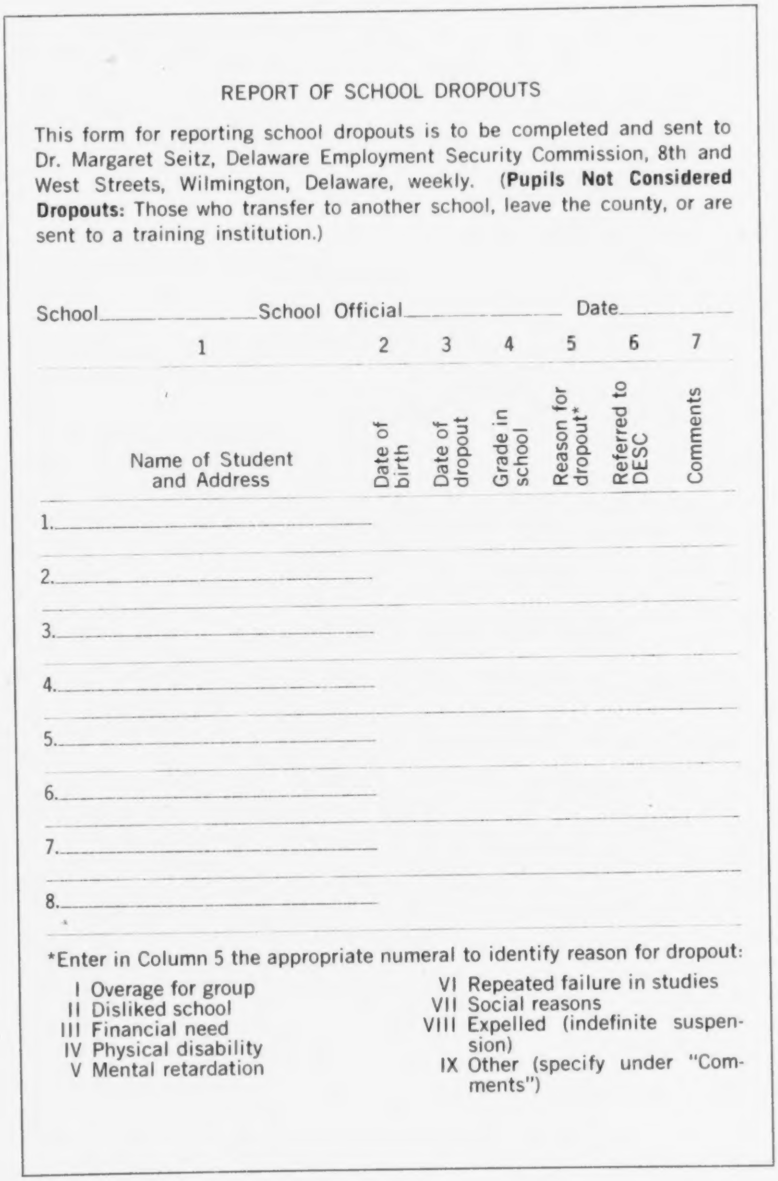
One of the most effective means of ensuring that youth who have dropped out of school get the service of the local Employment Service is to make arrangements whereby the school notifies the local office of the dropouts. In many communities throughout the country, high schools send to the Employment Service weekly or biweekly or monthly lists of those who have dropped out of school and are seeking jobs. (See the Report of School Dropouts by the School.) The Employment Service then sends a "call in" card or a letter to the youth inviting him to come to the Employment Service and register if he is still seeking work. Sample letters and cards are shown on pages 247-49.

Experience has shown that it is important for the Employment Service to have contact with the youth as near the point of his leaving school as possible. The Wilmington, Delaware, Employment Service office has found that by providing immediate special service in the Youth and Counseling Sections of the local office they have been able to place one out of two of the dropouts who came into the office.

An interesting program was started in Passaic, New Jersey, over ten years ago, where the schools, the Employment Service, and the YWCA worked together. Those young people who were planning to quit school were sent to the Employment Service by the school. If they were thought to have sufficient academic ability to complete school, the school noted this. At the Employment Service they were shown the difference in job orders for nongraduates as compared with those for the graduates. The different types of work available with the chances for advancement with and without graduation were discussed with the youngsters. If they were willing to return to school, a special tutoring service was arranged by the schools. The Employment Service then made a special effort to get them part-time employment. For those who did drop out, a special club was maintained by the "Y," where the problems common to the young workers were discussed and a guiding hand was given by the adult club leader.

Insofar as possible, cooperative arrangements are developed with high school authorities whereby potential dropouts, particularly those without definite job prospects, will be referred to the local office prior to their actually leaving school. In Youngstown, Ohio, for example, the schools and local Employment Service have for many years had a system of referral of these school leavers which minimizes the possibility that they will be out of school and out of work. Students are released only after they have obtained jobs by their own efforts or through the Ohio State Employment

Report of School Dropouts by the School



REPORT OF SCHOOL DROPOUTS

This form for reporting school dropouts is to be completed and sent to Dr. Margaret Seitz, Delaware Employment Security Commission, 8th and West Streets, Wilmington, Delaware, weekly. (**Pupils Not Considered Dropouts:** Those who transfer to another school, leave the county, or are sent to a training institution.)

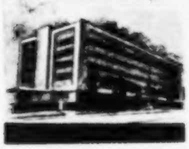
School__________ School Official__________ Date__________

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Name of Student and Address	Date of birth	Date of dropout	Grade in school	Reason for dropout*	Referred to DESC	Comments
1.__________						
2.__________						
3.__________						
4.__________						
5.__________						
6.__________						
7.__________						
8.__________						

*Enter in Column 5 the appropriate numeral to identify reason for dropout:

I Overage for group
II Disliked school
III Financial need
IV Physical disability
V Mental retardation
VI Repeated failure in studies
VII Social reasons
VIII Expelled (indefinite suspension)
IX Other (specify under "Comments")

MARYLAND STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
1100 N. EUTAW STREET • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201 • PHONE 727-5900



STEPHEN C. CROMWELL
Executive Director, D.E.S.
J. DONN AIKEN
Director, M.S.E.S.

Your principal tells us that you have decided to leave school. If your reason for leaving school was employment, we hope you have been successful in finding a job which you like. However, if you haven't, we shall be glad to help you. Why not come in and see us?

We can talk over your interests, aptitudes, and the kind of work you would like to do, and then help you find a job.

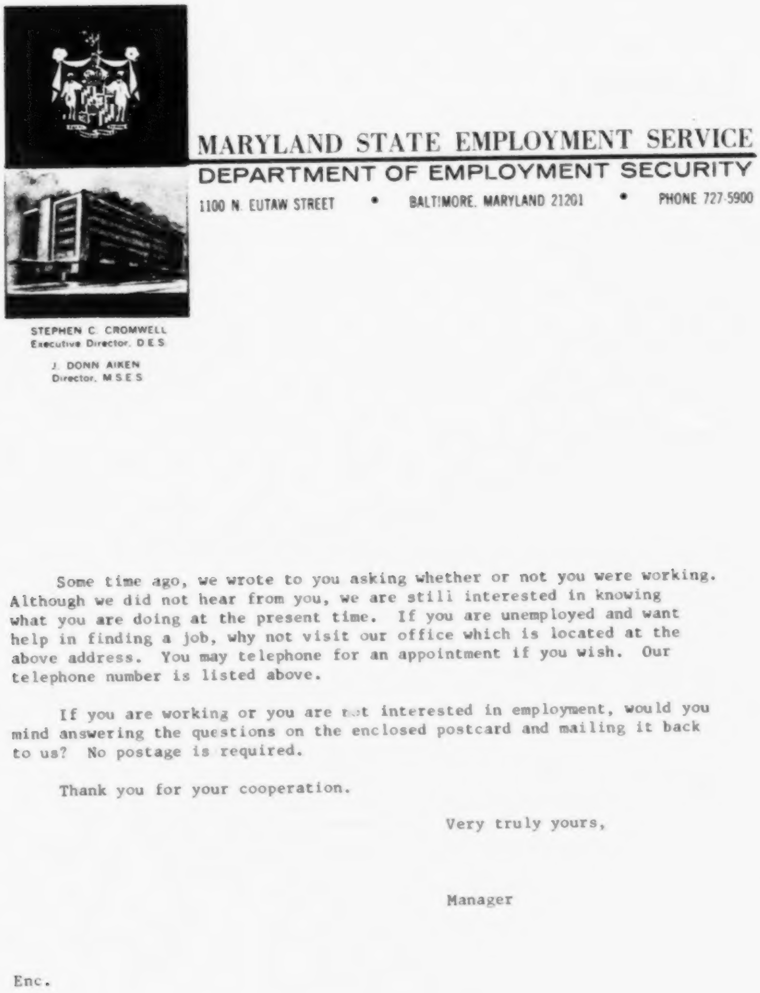
Our office, which is located at the above address, is open Monday through Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. You may telephone for an appointment if you like.

We are extremely interested in knowing what you are doing at the present time and what your future plans are. We feel that this information will help us improve our service to young people who come to us for assistance. Therefore, we would appreciate it if you will fill out the enclosed card and return it to this office. No postage is required.

Very truly yours,

Manager

Enc.



MARYLAND STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
1100 N. EUTAW STREET • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201 • PHONE 727-5900

STEPHEN C. CROMWELL
Executive Director, D.E.S.

J. DONN AIKEN
Director, M.S.E.S.

Some time ago, we wrote to you asking whether or not you were working. Although we did not hear from you, we are still interested in knowing what you are doing at the present time. If you are unemployed and want help in finding a job, why not visit our office which is located at the above address. You may telephone for an appointment if you wish. Our telephone number is listed above.

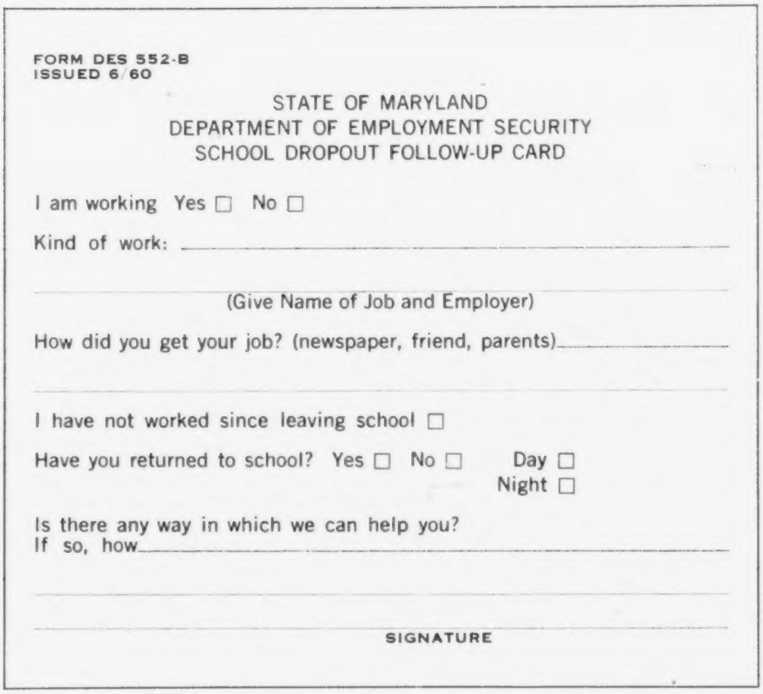
If you are working or you are not interested in employment, would you mind answering the questions on the enclosed postcard and mailing it back to us? No postage is required.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Manager

Enc.



FORM DES 552-B
ISSUED 6/60

STATE OF MARYLAND
DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
SCHOOL DROPOUT FOLLOW-UP CARD

I am working Yes ☐ No ☐

Kind of work: ______________________________

____
(Give Name of Job and Employer)

How did you get your job? (newspaper, friend, parents) ______________

____

I have not worked since leaving school ☐

Have you returned to school? Yes ☐ No ☐ Day ☐
Night ☐

Is there any way in which we can help you?
If so, how ______________________________

____

____
SIGNATURE

Service. One of the finest results of this program is the high number of students who remain in or return to school after talking to the counselor. Similar efforts have been made in Canton and other cities throughout the country.

REFERRAL CARD USED BY THE SCHOOL

Schools and the Employment Service should agree on a referral card to be used by the schools for this purpose. Two samples of such cards are shown on page 250. The Employment Service will thus be put on notice that the school knows that the pupil is leaving. The referral card also serves as a support to the boy or girl at a time when it is needed. To have the name of a person to see gives a feeling of assurance in approaching a new situation. It means that the youth will seek the services he needs, whereas without the introduction he may not go to the Employment Service and is thus deprived of an opportunity for help which he may badly need.

SCHOOL REFERRAL CARD

Mr.______________________
To: State Employment Service. Attention: Miss______________________
Mrs.______________________
At____
This will introduce______________________________________
from______________________________High School, who is a:
(check one)______________graduate from class of______________
______________dropout from grade______________
Reason for dropout______________________________
__________pupil from grade__________who is still attending school but is being referred in response to your request for a part-time (or vacation) worker.
(Signed)______________ (Title)______________ (Date)______________
Appointment date and hour______________________________

SCHOOL REFERRAL CARD

To:____
Department of Employment Security
Address:____
This will introduce__________________________________from
____High School
who is a withdrawal from grade______________
Signed______________________________ Date______________
Appointment Date and Hour______________________________
Form DES 549
Issued 9/58
State of Maryland

Every effort is made to assure continued attendance at school by any student for as long as he can benefit by further education.

To this end, the Employment Service cooperates with the school in any feasible way. The securing of part-time employment will sometimes help.

If the student has come in without a school referral card, the counselor may explore with him and with the school authorities the wisdom of his decision to leave school or possible adjustments which will enable the student satisfactorily to continue his studies. However, if it is determined on further analysis with the school that the pupil is to enter full-time employment, placement and other assistance is provided in the same manner as for other youth applicants. Experience has shown that most dropouts need counseling.

SERVICES TO SCHOOL DROPOUTS WHO ARE MENTALLY RETARDED OR ARE FROM "SPECIAL" OR "BASIC" CLASSES

While some school dropouts are of average or above average ability, the great majority are those representing the lower half or lower third in academic ability. A number of special reports made by the Employment Service indicate that these youth can do a great variety of work in the semiskilled, unskilled, and service fields, as well as many clerical and agricultural occupations.

In *Matching Youth and Jobs*,[7] Howard Bell reported that 69 percent of the jobs required only one month or less to learn. At that time, 54 percent of the jobs required only elementary school or less. Automation and other technological changes mean that more ability and skill is required to do today's jobs. But the Bureau of Labor Statistics' projections for 1970 indicate that about 40 percent of the work force still will be unskilled, semiskilled, or service workers, performing work of a level which can be done by persons of below average intelligence. This kind of information should be encouraging to youth who do not have the capacity to go to college or learn any of the highly skilled occupations. With selective placement techniques the Employment Service is able to place most of these youth suitably in jobs for which they are fully qualified. The mentally retarded tend to disappear when they leave school and are properly absorbed in the work force.

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[7] *Matching Youth and Jobs*, Bell, Howard. 1940.

SERVICES TO NIGHT SCHOOL STUDENTS

Schools usually do not provide counselors for most secondary and college night courses. Still many who attend night schools need assistance in choosing or adjusting to a vocation. The Employment Service has done relatively little for this group. There is a large area of unmet need among these students. In New York City the Employment Service does provide a part-time counselor who spends time in the evening high schools, helps the students with their vocational plans, and refers them to local employment offices for further counseling and placement services. More such programs are needed, particularly in the larger cities.

Appendix C

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF DECEMBER 1963

Public Law 88-210

Summary*

Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts

Maintains the present categories for vocational education authorized by the Smith-Hughes Act and the George-Barden Act including Title III pertaining to training of highly skilled technicians (Title VIII, NDEA) and Title II relating to training of practical nurses. Both Titles II and III of the George-Barden Act are due to expire in fiscal year 1965 and fiscal year 1964, respectively. The legislation makes both of these titles permanent as are the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act and Title I of the George-Barden Act.

New Appropriations Authorized

Authorizes in new funds: $60 million for fiscal year 1964, $118.5 million for fiscal year 1965, $177.5 million for fiscal year 1966, and $225 million for each subsequent fiscal year. These sums are in addition to existing authorizations of approximately $57 million under the George-Barden and Smith-Hughes Acts.

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* Based on a report prepared by the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives.

Transfer of Funds Between Existing Categories

Permits the transfer without limitation on amount of funds from any of the categories created by Smith-Hughes and George-Barden to any other category or for purposes consistent with the new authority created by the legislation. In each case there must be a showing that the transfer is consistent with a current analysis of the present and projected manpower and employment needs determined by the State board together with the approval of the Commissioner of the Office of Education.

Broadened Definition of Vocational Agriculture

Eliminates the "farm practice requirement" and broadens the definition of vocational agriculture so as to permit Federal funds to be expended in agricultural training programs for occupations related to agriculture in which a knowledge and skill of agriculture subjects are involved. (Under the George-Barden Act and the Smith-Hughes Act, funds authorized to be expended for vocational agriculture are limited to programs of training involving work of the farm or of the farm home and specifically require supervised or directed farm practice.)

Federal Funds Available for New Occupation Categories

Authorizes the Federal funds to be expended on vocational education for any occupation consistent with an analysis of present and projected manpower needs and job opportunities. Thus, in addition to authorizing Federal funds to be used on existing programs in vocational agriculture, trades, and industry, practical nursing, and highly skilled technicians, Public Law 88-210 expands the permissible use of Federal funds to other job areas such as the business and office occupations.

Home Economics Definition Broadened

Permits home economics funds (now limited to training for work in the home) to be used for vocational education in any occupation involving knowledge and skill in home economics subjects. In addition, the new law provides that any of the new funds which might be directed into home economics subjects be expended only for home economics vocational training which is job oriented. For fiscal year 1966 and any subsequent fiscal year, 10 percent of the funds authorized under Smith-Hughes and George-Barden for home economics training would have to be expended by the State in such training which is job oriented or in the alternative transferred to some other category.

Periodic Analysis of Training in Relation to Job Market

Requires the State administering agency to periodically evaluate vocational education programs in the light of current manpower needs and job opportunities. In addition, an advisory committee on the national level is established to advise the Commissioner with respect to policies in the administration of the vocational education program. The law requires the Secretary to appoint a National Advisory Council during 1966 for the purpose of reviewing the administration of vocational education programs aided with Federal funds and to make recommendations with respect to such programs for transmission to the Congress in a report not later than January 1, 1968. The Secretary every five years must reappoint a review council for the same purposes.

Area Vocational Schools

The law would authorize Federal funds to be used in the construction and the initial equipping of area vocational schools. In this respect for fiscal years prior to fiscal year 1968 at least 33 1/3 percent of a State's allotment of newly authorized funds would have to be expended either for this purpose or for vocational education for persons who have completed or left high school and are available for full-time study. After fiscal year 1968 this percentage is reduced to 25 percent.

Work Study

Section 13 of the law creates a new work-study program beginning July 1, 1964, and terminating at the end of four years. Its purpose is to encourage and enable youths between the ages of 16 and 20 who otherwise would drop out of high school or discontinue their education after completing high school to continue in school in order to acquire the necessary occupational training to equip them for meaningful employment. The "work-study" program would provide part-time employment of not more than 15 hours a week in public schools or in other public agencies. The entire program would be financed by Federal allotments to States and would operate according to State plans developed within the scope of the legislative authority but geared to meet State and local conditions and needs.

Pilot Residential Vocational Schools

The Office of Education is authorized in Section 14 of the bill to establish one or more residential vocational education schools on an experimental and demonstration basis. Authorizations are terminated at the end of fiscal year 1968. The first funds authorized are for fiscal year 1965.

National Defense Education Act

Extends for one year the provisions of NDEA amending it as follows:

a. Increase authorizations for the Student Loan Program (Title II): 1964, $125 million; 1965, $135 million

b. Raise the institutional ceiling in the Student Loan Program (Title II) from $250,000 to $800,000

c. Extend the teacher forgiveness provision of the Student Loan Program to teachers serving in American Government schools abroad

d. Include American Samoa for participation in the program

e. Extend the moratorium on loan interest and repayments to students studying in universities abroad

f. Provide for the reallotment of funds among the States and the cancellation of the "carry over" provision in Title III (science, math, and foreign language equipment)

g. Include test grading equipment and audio-visual materials in the equipment eligible for support under Title III

h. Permit the reawarding of vacated fellowships under the Graduate Fellowship Program (Title IV)

i. Place the cost-of-education allowance to institutions in the Graduate Fellowship Program (Title IV) on a flat-grant basis of $2,500 per year

j. Extend guidance services to the schools (Title V-A) to include the 7th and 8th grades and increase the annual authorization by $2.5 million to a total of $17.5 million

k. Extend the guidance institutes program (Title V-B) to include 7th and 8th grade guidance counselors

l. Broaden the Language Development Title (Title VI) to include teachers engaged in teaching English as a second language.

Impacted Areas

Provides for a two-year extension of Public Laws 815 and 874.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF DECEMBER 1963

Excerpts*

AN ACT

To strengthen and improve the quality of vocational education and to expand the vocational education opportunities in the Nation, to extend for three years the National Defense Education Act of 1958. . . .

PART A - VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

Section 1. It is the purpose of this part to authorize Federal grants to States to assist them to maintain, extend, and improve existing programs of vocational education, to develop new programs of vocational education, and to provide part-time employment for youths who need the earnings from such employment to continue their vocational training on a full-time basis, so that persons of all ages in all communities of the State—those in high school, those who have completed or discontinued their formal education and are preparing to enter the labor market, those who have already entered the labor market but need to upgrade their skills or learn new ones, and those with special educational handicaps—will have ready access to vocational training or retraining which is of high quality, which is realistic in the light of actual or anticipated opportunities for gainful employment, and which is suited to their needs, interests, and ability to benefit from such training.

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* The excerpts presented here are especially relevant to the school dropout problem.

. . . .

USES OF FEDERAL FUNDS

Section 4. (a) Except as otherwise provided in subsection (b), a State's allotment under section 3 may be used, in accordance with its approved State plan, for any or all of the following purposes:

(1) Vocational education for persons attending high school;

(2) Vocational education for persons who have completed or left high school and who are available for full-time study in preparation for entering the labor market;

(3) Vocational education for persons (other than persons who are receiving training allowances under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Area Redevelopment Act, or the Trade Expansion Act of 1962) who have already entered the labor market and who need training or retraining to achieve stability or advancement in employment;

(4) Vocational education for persons who have academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in the regular vocational education program;

(5) Construction of area vocational education school facilities;

(6) Ancillary services and activities to assure quality in all vocational education programs, such as teacher training and supervision, program evaluation, special demonstration and experimental programs, development of instructional materials, and State administration and leadership, including periodic evaluation of State and local vocational education programs and services in light of information regarding current and projected manpower needs and job opportunities.

. . . .

(c) Ten per centum of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 2 for each fiscal year shall be used by the Commissioner to make grants to colleges and universities, and other public or nonprofit private agencies and institutions, to State boards, and with the approval of the appropriate State board, to local educational agencies, to pay part of the cost of research and training programs and of experimental, developmental, or pilot programs developed by such institutions, boards, or agencies, and designed to meet the special vocational education needs of youths, *particularly youths in economically depressed communities who have academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in the regular vocational education programs.* (italics added)

STATE PLANS

Section 5. (a) A State which desires to receive its allotments of Federal funds under this part shall submit through its State board to the Commissioner a State plan, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary, which—

> (1) designates the State board as the sole agency for administration of the State plan, or for supervision of the administration thereof by local educational agencies . . . ;
>
> . . . .
>
> (3) provides minimum qualifications for teachers, teacher-trainers, supervisors, directors, and others having responsibilities under the State plan;
>
> (4) provides for entering into cooperative arrangements with the system of public employment offices in the State, approved by the State board and by the State head of such system, looking toward such offices making available to the State board and local educational agencies occupational information regarding reasonable prospects of employment in the community and elsewhere, and toward consideration of such information by such board and agencies in providing *vocational guidance and counseling to students and prospective students and in determining the occupations for which persons are to be trained;* and looking toward guidance and counseling personnel of the State board and local educational agencies making available to public employment offices information regarding the occupational qualifications

of persons leaving or completing vocational education courses or schools, and toward consideration of such information by such offices in the occupational guidance and placement of such persons . . . ; (italics added)

. . . .

DEFINITIONS

Section 8. For the purposes of this part—

(1) The term "vocational education" means vocational or technical training or retraining which is given in schools or classes. . . . *Such term includes vocational guidance and counseling in connection with such training*, instruction related to the occupation for which the student is being trained or necessary for him to benefit from such training, the training of persons engaged as, or preparing to become vocational education teachers, teacher-trainers, supervisors, and directors for such training, travel of students and vocational education personnel, and the acquisition and maintenance and repair of instructional supplies, teaching aids and equipment, but does not include the construction or initial equipment of buildings or the acquisition or rental of land. (italics added)

. . . .

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION STUDENTS

Section 13.

. . . .

(c) For the purposes of this section, a work-study program shall—

> (1) be administered by the local educational agency and made reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all youths in the area served by such agency who are able to meet the requirements of paragraph (2);
>
> (2) provide that employment under such work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who (A) has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student in a vocational

> education program which meets the standards prescribed by the State board and the local educational agency for vocational education programs assisted under the preceding sections of this part, or in the case of a student already enrolled in such a program, is in good standing and in full-time attendance, (B) is in need of the earnings from such employment to commence or continue his vocational education program, and (C) is at least fifteen years of age and less than twenty-one years of age at the commencement of his employment, and is capable, in the opinion of the appropriate school authorities, of maintaining good standing in his vocational education program while employed under the work-study program. . . ;
>
> . . . .

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